

# Music & Letters

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# *Music and Letters*

APRIL 1952

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## **'UN BALLO IN MASCHERA'**

BY EDWARD J. DENT

WHENEVER an opera by a great composer falls into neglect or complete oblivion we may be sure that critics, biographers and historians will ascribe its failure to the libretto. The libretto, as a thing in itself, has never received the systematic analytical study which is its due, and this is indeed not surprising. Those who write about opera, whether as critics in the theatre or as historians in the library, very seldom read through the complete words of a libretto from beginning to end; and even if we do take this trouble with a mere handful of librettos it must be admitted that very few indeed make attractive reading from a literary point of view. Rinuccini and Metastasio are about the only authors of librettos who were genuine poets. Rinuccini had the advantage of being the first of all librettists; it was he who created the general form of opera, and his composers obediently followed his lead. Metastasio did not himself create a new form of libretto; he took it over from Apostolo Zeno but, being a better poet and dramatist as well as probably a much better musician, he perfected a type with such skill that his librettos were set to music over and over again by dozens of different composers, a situation that would be quite inconceivable to-day, even if copyright did not exist. If an opera failed in those days, nobody would ever have said that it was Metastasio's fault.

After Metastasio's death Italian composers turned more and more to France for their librettos, sometimes translating French librettos directly, and later on adapting librettos from French plays and novels. English, German and Spanish novels or plays were also drawn upon to some extent, though far less than French. Of Verdi's operas 'Ernani' is from Victor Hugo, 'I Due Foscari' from Byron, 'Giovanna d' Arco' from Schiller, 'Alzira' from Voltaire,

'Macbeth' from Shakespeare, 'I Masnadieri' from Schiller, 'Il Corsaro' from Byron, 'Luisa Miller' from Schiller, 'Stiffelio' from a French play, 'Rigoletto' from Hugo, 'Il Trovatore' from García Gutiérrez, 'La Traviata' from the younger Dumas, 'Simone Boccanegra' from García Gutiérrez, and 'Un Ballo in Maschera' from Scribe. Italian drama provided no models for Italian composers, except for a few comic operas after Goldoni.

Until quite recently 'Simone Boccanegra' was one of Verdi's failures, and the blame was always laid on the libretto. Its modern success is due first to a German translation by Franz Werfel, and its English success to an English version by Norman Tucker. 'Un Ballo in Maschera' has always been something between a success and a failure; musicians recognize it as one of Verdi's best works, but it has never enjoyed the world-wide popularity of the three old favourites 'Rigoletto', 'Il Trovatore' and 'La Traviata'; and here again the blame has always been laid on the absurdity of the libretto. Absurd it is indeed, but in this case the fault is not entirely that of Antonio Somma the poet, but principally that of the Neapolitan censorship.

The original intention of Verdi and Somma was to adapt Scribe's libretto, 'Gustave III, ou le Bal Masqué', written originally for Rossini but set to music by Auber in 1833. Auber's opera was adapted by Planché as an English melodrama in the year of its first production, and it enjoyed considerable success in France and Germany until the appearance of Verdi's opera, although it is by no means one of Auber's best works. It was given in London in Italian in 1851, but apparently never in Italy; how Verdi made its acquaintance seems to be unknown. Scribe described it as "opéra historique", and it deals with the assassination of Gustavus III, King of Sweden, on March 16th 1792, at a masked ball in the opera-house at Stockholm. It is a five-act opera in the grand style with two long ballets. Historico-political opera was Spontini's creation, and the first Frenchman to follow him in this style was Auber with 'La Muette de Portici' (1828), for which Scribe wrote the libretto. The point to be noticed about these operas is that they are not based on plays, like Rossini's 'Semiramide' (after a tragedy by Voltaire) but on real history, even if factual history had to be drastically adapted to operatic needs. And 'Gustave III' was modern history, with an almost topical interest for French audiences, because at the time of the king's assassination it was very commonly believed that the crime was the work of French revolutionary agents. The widow of the regicide was actually living in Paris when the opera came out.

The troubles of Verdi and of many other composers with the

Austrian, Neapolitan and Papal censorships in Italy are well known. Naples would not tolerate an opera dealing with conspiracy and the murder of a king, and Rome took the same view; so the story of 'Un Ballo in Maschera', or 'Una Vendetta in Domino', as Verdi originally intended to call it, had to be changed. He seems to have accepted this order with very little compunction; it was a nuisance, but it had often happened before, and the success of an opera—which at that period of his life was the main thing—mainly depended, after all, on the music and the singers. He seems to have suggested first that the story should be transferred to the twelfth century. Somma replied (November 26th 1857):

I really think the twelfth century is too far off for our 'Gustavo'. It is so rough, so brutal an age, especially in those [*i.e.*, Scandinavian] countries, that it seems to me against all sense to put into it characters cut in the French style like Gustavo and Oscar, and a drama that is so glittering [brillante] and made for the manners of our own times. We ought to find a princeling, duke or devil—Nordic if you like—who had seen something of the world and smelt the perfume of the court of Louis XV.

It was the Roman censorship which insisted on the removal of the scene to some country outside Europe. Verdi wrote to Somma on July 8th 1858, "What would you say to North America at the time of the English domination? If not America, somewhere else. The Caucasus perhaps?" Whether this was meant seriously or only as a scornful jest is not clear; but on September 11th 1858 he thanks Somma for the "American" libretto, adding that "it has lost little, and indeed I find that in some ways it has gained". In what way Verdi thought it had gained it is impossible to guess. Somma was obviously right in stressing the French character of the drama, and Puritan Boston of about 1700 can hardly have had the glitter of an imitation Versailles.

The history of Gustavus III may be unfamiliar to English audiences of to-day, but to the Swedes the "Gustavan Age" is as real and as fascinating as the Regency is to ourselves. Gustavus was a man of extraordinary versatility and a most complex character. His mother was a sister of Frederick the Great and a dominant influence on his earlier life; he shared indeed many of the propensities of his uncle. Born in 1746, he succeeded to the throne in 1772, just after a visit to Paris and the court of Louis XV. He found the constitution of Sweden unworkable and at once brought off a bloodless *coup d'état* by which he deprived the nobility of most of their privileges and greatly strengthened the powers of the throne. The nobles had been the predominant force in the Diet, to the great

oppression of the burgher and peasant parties; the remaining estate of the realm, the clergy, although drawn from the humbler classes, had usually supported the nobility in self-protection. Gustavus's action secured him the enthusiastic affection of the middle and lower classes, but at the same time the undying enmity of the nobles, who at once started a conspiracy to get rid of him, though it was twenty years before the conspirators were able to achieve their end by assassinating him.

Gustavus was a good deal involved in war with Russia and, though not a soldier by temperament, he showed remarkable courage and endurance on the battle-field. His real inclinations were towards the fine arts; he gave generous and intelligent patronage to architects, painters and sculptors, he wrote plays which are still regarded as classics, librettos for operas and scenarios for ballets. He was determined to model his court on that of Versailles, and the extravagance of his theatrical entertainments finally caused the alienation of his tax-payers. He was constantly warned against the conspiracy which pursued him, but his reckless courage and his overflowing generosity of spirit made him utterly regardless of his secret enemies. Although he seems generally to have shared the rationalism of Frederick the Great he was keenly interested in learning and scholarship and quite ready to discuss theology with the dignitaries of the Church; at the same time he was inquisitive, if not actually credulous, about all kinds of occultism and mysticism in the age when the name of Freemasonry covered a vast variety of strange, semi-political mystery cults. A woman known as Mamzell Arvidson had at that time a great notoriety in Stockholm as a fortune-teller, especially in court circles. The court of Stockholm was supposed to be the most profligate in Europe, although it was the King's brother, not Gustavus himself, who did most to give it that unsavoury reputation. Mamzell Arvidson knew everybody's secrets and was said to be in the thick of every disreputable intrigue. She was secretly consulted by the King himself and she is said to have foretold his military campaigns by the inspection of coffee-grounds. She also warned him about the conspiracy, a matter on which she no doubt was very well informed without the help of supernatural agencies.

At the time of the assassination the leaders of the conspiracy were two young noblemen of the court, Counts Ribbing and Horn, both about twenty-five; Horn was a social favourite of great personal attractions with a gift for lyric poetry and his verses were set to music and sung by young ladies in every drawing-room. They were joined by a Captain Anckarstroem, who seems to have had

some personal grudge against Gustavus from the time when he was an ensign in the royal body-guard. He is said to have resigned his commission because the King would not allow him to marry an actress. This is not accepted by R. Nisbet Bain, the most scholarly and authoritative biographer of Gustavus; but in any case such a prohibition would have been perfectly natural in almost any European country down to the present century. Anckarstroem retired to his country estate with the rank of captain. He was a harsh, gloomy and fanatical character; he is said to have been cruel to his wife (presumably the ex-actress), and gradually came to regard it as a positively religious duty to make an end of the King because he had been false to his coronation oath. He was about thirty when he joined Ribbing and Horn; whether they chose the assassin by lot, as in the opera, is doubtful, but it has been stated and is possible. What is quite certain is that Anckarstroem loaded a pistol with slugs and rusty nails on purpose to ensure death by gangrene if it was not instantaneous, and that he fired it touching the King's body in the lower part of his back. He had also provided himself with a jagged knife in case the pistol misfired. Gustavus did not die on the spot; he lingered on in great agony for another fortnight, but insisted to his brother, who was acting as Regent, that all the conspirators should be pardoned. After his death it was decided that at any rate Anckarstroem must be beheaded; the others were only banished. Anckarstroem spent his remaining days in religious exercises, but unrepentant and firmly convinced up to the end that he had carried out his duty to his country.

Scribe cites as his authority for the story John Brown's 'Northern Courts', London, 1818, translated by a Monsieur Cohen into French. Brown's book is a rather confused compilation of memoirs by himself and others, mainly unfavourable to Gustavus. Its historical value may be judged by the fact that Nisbet Bain's copious bibliography does not even mention it. Scribe may be pardoned for compressing the twenty years of Gustavus's reign into forty-eight hours, for in all historical drama truth to character is more important than chronological accuracy; but the love affair between Gustavus and Madame Anckarstroem on which the plot is made to turn is historically quite inconceivable, as Madame Anckarstroem herself said to Planché in 1833. The motive of Anckarstroem's crime was purely political, and had nothing whatever to do with his domestic life. The other glaring falsification of history is the apparent combination of Anckarstroem with some other person, perhaps Gustavus's intimate friend Count Armfeldt (whom Scribe erroneously made Minister of Justice). Anckarstroem

was never the King's secretary, let alone his most trusted friend and confidant; nor was he ever appointed Governor of Finland. Oscar is a purely fictitious character, but fairly credible as a type of the favourites by whom Gustavus was surrounded.

A line by line comparison of Scribe and Somma shows that Somma followed Scribe as closely as he could, apart from recasting the airs, duets, ensembles and so on according to the conventions of the Italian stage. He cut out the long ballet scene of the first act, and reduced that of the last to a mere ballroom background such as we find in 'La Traviata'. He also cut down the non-lyrical element to the barest minimum. Scribe's main work was play-writing, and in his librettos he was always concerned to make the drama clear; his literary style, especially in lyrical numbers, has been censured by French critics, but it is at any rate always easy to understand in the dramatic moments, and in this opera he never forgot the good manners of a court. Somma had no time for polite formalities and, besides, it would have been contrary to all canons of Italian poetic diction to use ordinary words and plain language. His style, indeed, leaves Bunn quite in the shade; he belongs to the school of poets who always said "sire" for "father", "steed" for "horse" and "quaff" for "drink", and on the top of that he follows the traditional Italian practice of inverting sentences in the style of the Latin poets. One wonders whether Verdi himself—let alone his singers—ever completely understood these habitual affectations and obscurities. If Somma did not write nonsense Verdi all too often set him as such. Another alteration made by Somma was at the moment of Gustavus's death. Scribe follows history in making Anckarstroem shoot the King, who is then placed on an improvised stretcher by the soldiers and carried out alive after a very brief farewell:

GUST.: (revenant à lui et se soulevant avec peine):  
Où suis-je? quels tourments! Oscar . . . Dieux! Amélie!  
(Regardant Anck. et les conjurés)  
Grâce pour eux! je veux qu'on leur pardonne.

OSCAR: Hélas!

GUST.: Oui, quand je vois vos pleurs, je regrette la vie.  
Adieu, Suède! adieu, gloire et patrie!  
J'espérais mieux mourir! Mes amis, mes soldats,  
Entourez-moi! Qu'au moins j'expire dans vos bras!

Somma makes Anckarstroem suddenly repent, but Scribe makes him sing (in the ensemble):

Oui, d'un bras intrépide  
J'ai puni le perfide:  
Mon cœur est satisfait!

Frappez! avec la vie  
Qui va m'être ravie  
J'emporte mon secret.

Scribe wanted drama, or at least stage effect; the Italian theatre demanded a welter of emotion, not a picture like Scribe's final slow procession but a death tableau and a general fortissimo. No Italian opera, however tragic, could end with a *diminuendo*; the audience would have hesitated to applaud and the opera would have been a failure.

The change of site from Sweden to Massachusetts was disastrous, for at puritanical Boston the whole story becomes utterly unthinkable, though perhaps possible at New Orleans. Somma for no apparent reason describes Renato as a creole, *i.e.*, a man of French or Spanish parentage on both sides but born in America. Ulrica may possibly have been his original name for Mamzell Arvidson; Ulrike was in fact the name of Gustavus's mother. Somma makes her a negress, which seems much more appropriate to New Orleans than to Boston, though Ulrica seems an unlikely name for a negress. Somma's original libretto was never printed; if it exists anywhere in manuscript it is not accessible. But it is quite likely that he was frightened of the Swedish surnames which Scribe took over without hesitation, even if he got them wrong in one or two cases; then if so, why did he call the conspirators Samuel and Tom instead of Samuele and Tommaso? Were Uncle Sam and Uncle Tom (of the Cabin) the only Americans he had ever heard of? And did Verdi think, when he found the Massachusetts version in some ways an improvement, that only in puritan New England could two guilty lovers be restrained from consummating adultery by scruples of morality and honour? To the modern opera-goer such conduct would seem quite contrary to all operatic principle, but Scribe insists on it most emphatically and Somma goes farther still, for he makes Riccardo with his dying breath assure Renato of his wife's chastity.

The change of environment, however, brought eventually a worse disaster than the impossibility of the plot. Scribe's characters, apart from half of Anckarstroem and the whole of Oscar and Amélie, were real men and women about whose complete history and personalities a great deal more is known than his libretto puts on the stage, so that it is possible, and indeed most desirable, to make use of this knowledge in interpreting the rôles and in designing the details of stage production. Somma's Bostonians are so utterly incredible that in performance they cease to have any personalities at all and become nothing more than standard Italian opera parts, for which nothing matters except the mere display of voices. That is all that

some opera-goers—and not only in provincial Italian theatres—seem to require; and unless the singers happen to be of the very first rank it inevitably leads to mere screaming and bawling. In the operas prior to 'Aida' there are always two Verdis, the young Verdi, the self-educating (and not yet self-educated) plebeian forced to conform to the conventions of Italian opera at its most degraded by the necessity of earning a living; and the real Verdi, the indomitable searcher after dramatic truth. If we are to celebrate Verdi, fifty years after his death, as one of the greatest musical dramatists of the Western world, are we honouring his memory by the exaggeration of that lamentable and revolting vulgarity which he outlived in 'Otello' and 'Falstaff'?

Massachusetts was not the only exile of King Gustavus III. When 'Un Ballo in Maschera' was first given in Paris, at the Théâtre Italien in January 1861, Mario flatly refused to be an Earl of Warwick and to wear the costume appropriate for him. By his desire the scene was transferred to Naples, where he could be a Duke of Olivarès. Other characters were changed to suit the new situation. Amelia became Adelia—the difference seems negligible, but Adelia, like Leonora, seems to have been a favourite name for Italian *prime donne*; Oscar was changed to Edgar. The first performance of the opera (in Italian) in London was at the Lyceum Theatre in June 1861 under the management of Mapleson, according to whose memoirs Covent Garden produced it a few days later. Covent Garden still possesses a manuscript full score of about that date in which the names of the characters (very seldom given and sometimes abbreviated) are inconsistent; they sometimes agree with the Massachusetts version, but Adelia and Edgar appear, and in a few places "Rod:" (Riccardo), "Ern:" and "Man:" for Samuel and Tom. Boosey's old edition with a "new" English translation by C. L. Kenney (Balfe's biographer), dating from about 1870 (?), always has "Adelia" and "Edgar".

Loewenberg could trace no performance in English except at New York in 1871; Eric Walter White was equally unsuccessful, but since his book was published Sumner Austin has told me that he sang in it at the Old Vic in the season of 1930-31.

The only way to rescue 'Un Ballo in Maschera' and give it the popularity which it deserves would be to restore the original Swedish setting. Auber's opera was given at Gothenburg in German in 1865, but this is the only known performance in Sweden. Verdi's (in the Massachusetts version) was sung in Italian at Copenhagen in 1867 and at Christiania in 1868; a Swedish translation was published in 1868, but the opera was not performed at Stockholm until 1927.

But it was revived at Copenhagen in 1935 in a new Danish version restoring the real characters, and this version is still in the Copenhagen repertory. Whether it would be possible to revert to the Stockholm version in Italy only an Italian can say; some Italian musicians certainly desire it, but it would probably be necessary to rewrite the whole libretto because of the verbal ineptitudes which are the laughing-stock of all Italy. The alterations made by Somma himself in 1858 would seem to have been limited to little more than the names of characters and countries and the darkening of Ulrica's complexion.

A new English version is needed, following Scribe's French as far as possible rather than Somma's Italian for the dramatic parts. For the lyrical parts some compromise is inevitable—arias and so forth in any language can hardly ever be translated into reasonable English without very free paraphrase. Kenney's version is old-fashioned operatic English, but never crassly laughable; in view of the two versions current in his day (Massachusetts and Naples) he carefully evades all geographical allusions and it could be sung in any costumes or scenery. He translates the Italian as closely as possible and is most scrupulous about never altering a single note of the music, such as dividing a crotchet into two quavers and *vice versa* or adding a quaver on an up-beat; but he almost always uses "thou" and "thee", which is not only incongruous for the period of Gustavus III but also produces a constant recurrence of the termination "est", which makes legato singing impossible. Indeed he is utterly indifferent to the accumulation of awkward consonants and is guilty, too, of false accentuation. A free version in modern English would not only be more natural and more dramatic but more easily singable as well. Still, the translation of any early Verdi opera is a matter of singular difficulty, largely because of the ruthless indifference with which Verdi at that time treated words, except when powerful dramatic declamation was needed. All his big ensembles are composed in the technique of a brass band; the most conspicuous examples are those of 'La Traviata', where the Baron, the Marquis and the Doctor have to sing different words in unison to a bass line obviously conceived for that mysterious instrument the *cimbasso* familiar to all readers of Verdi scores—not mentioned in Grove, Scholes, Blom or even the Harvard Dictionary of Music, but identified in the Covent Garden score referred to above by some English annotator as our long-departed friend the ophicleide. It is indeed a nauseating task for a translator to have to analyse minutely the unsavoury mass of chewed-up libretto which rumbles its way through the digestive tract of a Verdian finale.

Writers on Verdi, both English and foreign, have been curiously shy in their approach to 'Un Ballo in Maschera'. Even Francis Toye, incomparably the most illuminating of all Verdi commentators, does not go so far as to suggest a return to the Swedish story, though he points out plainly the absurdity of the Boston setting. He draws full attention to the definitely humorous characterization of Riccardo and Oscar as the outstanding novelty of this opera, but hardly seems to realize that it was only a further development of the humour that had already made its appearance in 'Rigoletto' and still more noticeably in 'La Traviata'. The novelty of 'Un Ballo' lay in the fact that the hero, the *primo tenore* himself, is made to have a sense of humour, and an all-pervading one; but in most performances he is never allowed to show it, and the two comic "uncles" (who, like the "nieces" in 'Peter Grimes', nearly always sing in unison) are merely loutish hooligans. A "Stockholm" version in natural English would lighten the whole character of the opera through the mere sound of the English language, and intensify the contrast between the continuously frivolous background and the sudden irruptions of unexpected tragedy.

This brings us to fundamental questions of opera in translation. Some people would say that if we are obliged to see Italian opera in English we must have the illusion that we are transported magically to Naples, even if the opera happens to be 'Falstaff', and that although the words may happen to be in English they must sound like Italian whether we happen to understand Italian or not. Others prefer to have the illusion—and sometimes admit to feeling it—that the composer, like Weber with 'Oberon', had written his opera to English words for English singers and English audiences. The perfectionists who cannot endure any opera in translation at all are the victims of exclusiveness; their taste is so fine that they can hardly bear it to be shared by anyone outside their particular *coterie*. But if we enjoy a work of art sincerely it is surely a human duty to want everybody else to enjoy it too.

## BRITTEN'S 'BILLY BUDD'

BY ANDREW PORTER

BENJAMIN BRITTEN's sixth opera, 'Billy Budd', with libretto by E. M. Forster and Eric Crozier, was presented for the first time at the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, on December 1st 1951. The subject of the opera derives from Melville's short novel, 'Billy Budd, Foretopman'. Its action is set late in the eighteenth century, soon after the mutinies of Spithead and the Nore. Billy Budd, a handsome sailor, filled with "natural goodness" and beloved of his shipmates, is impressed on to H.M.S. Indomitable, a man-of-war. The warship's master-at-arms, John Claggart, a man filled with "natural depravity", conceives an envy of him, and denounces him to Vere, the captain, as an inciter of mutiny. Billy, a stammerer and unable to defend his innocence, strikes Claggart, who falls dead. Vere decides that he shall be executed, and he is hanged. The anecdote is told unrealistically, in poetic phrases which give it as little actuality as a fairy tale. No mind-states are explicitly defined. Indeed the evocative power of the book lies largely in its avoidance of definition. But plainly it is a study of envy, the most active of the passions, which must work ceaselessly to destroy its object. "Since its lodgment is in the heart not the brain, no degree of intellect supplies a guarantee against it. But Claggart's was no vulgar form of the passion. Nor, as directed towards Billy Budd, did it partake of that streak of apprehensive jealousy which marred Saul's visage perturbedly brooding on the comely young David. Claggart's envy struck deeper. If askance he eyed the good looks, cheery health and frank enjoyment of young life in Billy Budd, it is because these went along with a nature that, as Claggart magnetically felt, had in its simplicity never willed malice or experienced the reactionary bite of that serpent." There is, of course, another element in Claggart's hatred; he looks at Billy with "a touch of soft yearning, as if he could even have loved Billy but for fate and ban". But this undertone runs through the description of what all the characters think of the Handsome Sailor, and seems to be no more than a projection of the love Melville felt for his hero.

The normal course of action for Vere, after Claggart's death, would have been "to place Billy Budd in confinement, and in a way dictated by usage, and postpone further action in so extraordinary

a case to such time as they should again rejoin the squadron, and then refer it to the Admiral". His officers agree in this; indeed they suspect his mind is unhinged when he orders the summary trial. But Vere feels that unless quick action is taken the deed of the foretopman may "awaken any slumbering embers of the Nore among the crew". He insists on a verdict of death. And in a suggestive passage, with a reference to Abraham and Isaac, Melville tells, or rather fails to tell, how Vere announced the sentence to Billy. The relationship between Vere and Billy only starts at this point and it runs through the concluding chapters with Billy's last cry of "God bless Captain Vere!", and Vere's deathbed murmur of "Billy Budd, Billy Budd".

The librettists have made this secondary relationship the principal theme of their opera, and Vere its chief figure. The roles of Billy, the natural hero, and Claggart are reduced to those of actors who bring about Vere's tragedy and, indeed, the action is conceived as "having been called up by Vere", passing in his mind between the prologue and epilogue which present him as an old man. To write an opera which has no female characters poses in itself a considerable technical problem. But the fundamental shifting of Melville's emphasis has made the librettists' task still harder. For the evasions and vagueness which are permissible in a short story do not serve on the opera stage. Motivation must be more definite, or the result will appear tenuous and unsatisfactory. The anecdote now turns on the relationship between Billy and Vere but the moment when it reaches a climax is no more shown on the stage than it was described in the book. The actors retire to stage their private drama. The composer has achieved a brilliant solution—the thirty-four chords which close Act III make a fine dramatic effect at the time—but the vagueness persists. "Salvation through personal relationships" (the salvation which Forster has preached so persistently, so imprecisely, elsewhere) remains a mere form of words, not a convincing dramatic actuality. Let us see how the librettists have approached their task.

They have separated the Indomitable from the rest of her fleet—a good stroke which heightens the tragedy on the "tiny floating fragment of earth . . . lost on the infinite sea". Act I is a skilful dramatization from the book, with two things changed for the worse. In the novel the officer who hears Billy's farewell to his old ship, "Farewell, 'Rights o' Man'", thinks this at worst an ambiguous sally, and has difficulty in repressing a smile. In the opera the officers who hear it interpret it as a mutinous sentiment, and instruct the master-at-arms to watch the recruit. The second change involves the flogging by which in Melville a novice is punished for having

been absent from his post during an important manoeuvre. In the opera the punishment is awarded for an offence so trivial as to be dramatically insufficient; and it is ordered by the Boatswain, a character who does not appear again and is not concerned with the tragedy. (We may fairly be surprised at the sensitiveness of seamen whose "shame will never pass".) The act ends with an heroic address by Vere to the crew, and Billy's protestations of personal devotion to his captain—the librettists' original contribution to the story, and an essential part of their reconception. The words of the address are banal, and Billy's devotion unpersuasive.

Act II is well constructed. The Nocturne in the Captain's cabin, an invented scene, skilfully presents in dramatic form aspects of Vere's character Melville described. In the following scene below-decks the crew is happily singing shanties—no mutiny here! The incidents leading up to, "Handsomely done, my lad"—the first real confrontation of Claggart and Billy—are dramatically more effective than Melville's slopping of the soup; and for Claggart to use the Novice as Billy's tempter tightens the construction (it would be still tighter if Claggart had ordered the original flogging). Claggart has been given little chance to reveal his depravity in action, so in this scene the librettists have constructed from Melville's paragraphs on natural depravity a self-explanatory soliloquy for him, an "I am a villain" monologue. The duet for Billy and the wise old seaman, Dansker, is an imaginative expansion of the passage in Melville, and brings the act to an effective close.

Act III: A paragraph in the novel describing the fruitless chase of a French frigate is made into a choral ensemble. The episode, though it offers chance for a fine piece of extended musical construction, is irrelevant (Melville passes over it in four sentences), and by its irrelevancy emphasizes the slight nature of the essential action. The introduction of an actual mist (suggested by the phrase "so foggy a tale") is a crudely contrived piece of symbolism. It was presented at Covent Garden with almost unbelievable naivety. In Scene II Billy protests his extraordinary personal devotion to the captain. His denunciation by Claggart and the murder are ineffective. The officers, summoned to the trial that follows, appeal to Vere for guidance. In the novel he guided them, but here he stands silent, so that his "big aria" ("I accept their verdict") comes too late to win our sympathy. Scene I of Act IV puts Billy in his rightful place, as the protagonist. The words are skilfully taken from the "Billy in the Darbies" ballad. In the execution scene the final "Starry Vere, God bless you" fails in its "phenomenal effect". It is less moving than in the book. The Epilogue conveniently

summarizes the principal difficulties of this libretto. "I could have saved him. He knew it, even his shipmates knew it." Then why did Vere not save him? Lest by doing so he provoke mutiny? Despite all the insistence on it, the librettists and composer have failed to show that mutiny was any real danger on board H.M.S. Indomitable. "O, what have I done? But he has saved me and blessed me. And the love which passes understanding has come to me." How? Vere has convinced the simple sailor-lad that his decision was inevitable, and Billy has forgiven him. In what way does this forgiveness justify the decision? "Redemption through Billy Budd." If that is to be the final message of the opera it is one too nebulous to clinch the tale.

How has Britten dealt with this difficult libretto? First of all, let us make a straightforward analysis of the musical structure. Broadly speaking, the material derives from two sources. The vocal phrases are in the idiom of sea shanties; the orchestral matter has been suggested by the sounds of the ship, the pipings and bugle-calls, the whistling of the wind through the rigging. The opera is conceived on a firm tonal basis, which allows the utmost freedom of chromaticism, polytonality, remote modulations and juxtapositions of keys. Act I is in B $\flat$  with a closing section in C. Act II opens in C, moves into E $\flat$  (which bridges its two scenes), and closes in G. Scene I of Act III is in B $\flat$  again; scene II is in D but moves into F, the dominant, and this is also the key of the first scene of Act IV. The execution scene is pitched remotely, in E; and B $\flat$  returns to close the work.

A number of motives—an awkward word, but it must serve—are discernible. The principal ones are listed below, together with their "definitive" appearances. [References are to the rehearsal numbers of the vocal score: II (7) 4 indicates four bars after rehearsal figure (7) in Act II.] Two falling fourths, spanning a diminished seventh, and followed by a rise of a tone, characterize Claggart: "I heard, your honour": I (34) 21. Billy is symbolized by arpeggio figures: I (31). Captain Vere (or rather the crew's devotion to him) is expressed in a rising figure: I (57) 4. A rising fifth seems to suggest "smouldering embers of the Nore": the shanty "O heave", I (5). Billy's stammer is most brilliantly represented by a rapid flutter on high wood-block, muted trumpet trill and a little wood-wind figure that suggests vividly speech trying to gain utterance. Then there is a cluster of figurations, not definite enough in application to be labelled as a motive. Fluctuating thirds, swaying backwards and forwards, evoke most skilfully the limitless sea: opening of Acts I and IV. Thirds in rapidly repeated chords suggest ship-life: I (4). The wind whistling through the rigging is suggested by

a rapid ascent and descent of high consecutive seconds: I (10). It is difficult to give a definite association to the fourths, falling and returning, which accompany the officers' grumble, "We seem to have the devil's own luck", I (18), for later they form the basis of Claggart's monologue. If we associate them with Claggart, then Claggart and Billy make their first "orchestral appearance" together, at I (15).

PROLOGUE: B $\flat$ . Fourteen bars prelude, with the fluctuating quavers (the sea) presenting at once the opposition of B $\flat$  and B minor which will dominate the first act. The first half of bar 3 anticipates the stutter motive. Claggart's motive at bar 14. Then 48 bars recitative\* and arioso for Vere (tenor), accompanied by the sea-quavers and the stammer motive. At (3) 2, "O, what have I done", rising fifth of suspected mutiny.

Act I: five sections. (a) (4-15). The shanty, "O heave" (with its mutinous suggestion), 2- and 4-part chorus, punctuated by recitative which is accompanied by ship-calls. At (4) the opening bars of the opera condensed into thirds. At (10) first appearance of the "wind in the rigging" theme, and the "Sway" interlude, to (12) 5. The shanty appears four times *piano*, with differing harmonic implications. Its fifth and *forte* appearance shows the B $\flat$ -B minor opposition to be its basis. (b) (15-42). The return of the boarding party, Billy, Claggart. Recitative, with three expansions into 'arietta'. The figure at (15), arpeggio-call on B and then C $\sharp$ , contains the germ of three motives: (i) Billy's, the buoyant arpeggio which grows gradually from this to the full statement at (31) ff. (ii) The falling fourths of uncertain association referred to above, which accompany the grumbling arietta at (18). (iii), "This is our moment", made of two major chords a tone apart, the theme of Act III scene I. B minor is the basic key of this part. Just before (20) Claggart's motive is first given self-expression. Stutter at (27). Billy, by a piece of operatic bad luck, lights on the mutinous rising fifth for, "Farewell old Rights o' Man" (echoed by off-stage chorus), which closes his arietta (31-34). (35-42), short monologue for Claggart (bass), built on his motive. (c) (42-46). Interlude in F minor for Novice (tenor), Novice's Friend (baritone) and single-line chorus. Strong D $\flat$  suggestion (the key of compassion) in the saxophone obbligato. (d) (46-51). Scherzo, quartet in A major for

\* The term 'recitative' has been used to describe the disconnected declamation in which most of the dialogue is set. It may be sung, as in Act III, Scene II, by more than one person at once. 'Arioso' describes the more lyrical, expanded phrases of the declamation. 'Arietta' is used for the short connected passages for soloists not long enough to be called arias. The only real aria is Billy's in Act IV, Scene I; but the monologues of Vere and Claggart approach the form.

Red Whiskers (tenor), Billy and Donald (baritones) and Dansker (bass). (e) (53-end). Finale, C major. "Starry Vere" motive at (53) 4. At (54) 7 Claggart uses a *rising* fourth to address Billy (compare "Handsomely done" at II: ii (41); and also, "He calls me that sweet pleasant fellow" at II: ii (64) 2). First climax of the choral finale in C at (58). Then Vere's address in recitative, followed by full choral build-up to C major curtain.

Act II, Scene I: (a) (1-3). Andante tranquillo, Nocturne in C major. The last two bars of the preceding act form the first two of this one. Vere's reverie, richly scored. (b) (4-5) 10. Molto moderato, scherzo duet in E $\flat$  for the two officers (baritone), "Don't like the French!" (c) Conversation about mutiny, arioso, with the rising fifth at (7) 1, over a sinister rising arpeggio of B minor, again at (10) 6. Vere's comment, "O that's nothing", to the same fifth (11), as the off-stage chorus starts. At (13), allegro, ship-life, and the key of E $\flat$ , break in with trumpet calls. The scene closes with a return to the nocturnal mood and Vere's soliloquy. The orchestra in the interlude takes up the off-stage shanty, and bridges the two scenes. E $\flat$  reaches its resolution at Act II, Scene II (18) 3. (a) (21-30). Allegro moderato, shanty in G major for solos and 4-part chorus. Figured accompaniment (compare the Dirge in the 'Serenade for tenor, horn and strings'). (b) (30-44). Recitative, covering the fight, and Claggart's intervention. Stammer at (34). "Handsomely done" at (41)—compare I (54) 7 above. (c) (45-51). Claggart's monologue; intervals of a fourth, and finally the double fourth of his full theme, at "I will destroy you" (50) 20. F $\sharp$  minor at first, then shifting tonalities. (d) (51-56) Recitative, Novice and Claggart. Novice's entrance again with compassionate saxophone obbligato, and at (55) 8 an arioso based on this for the Novice. (e) (56-63) Billy's dream, F major, lyrical phrases anticipating Act IV, Scene I; and recitative between Billy and Novice, then Billy and Dansker. Stammer at (60) 7. (f) (63-curtain) Chaconne, G major, on Claggart's motive, "Jemmy Legs is down on you", duet for Billy and Dansker.

Act III, Scene I. B $\flat$ . In the opening bar the call which becomes the tune, "this is our moment". (4-7) F $\sharp$  minor, the beginning of Claggart's denunciation. (7-37) elaborate choral ensemble, the chase of the French frigate. Swing into G major for the full statement of the tune at (15). (38-50) Recitative, Claggart's denunciation. F $\sharp$  minor, then B $\flat$ . Act III, Scene II. D major. Most effective declamation for Vere of, "John Claggart, beware!" The rest of the scene in recitative except for Vere's arioso before the trial (73-76) in C minor, his more extended aria (97-102) in F minor.

The scene closes with 34 semibreves, common chords whose top note is F, A or C, in varied scoring and dynamics; and a six-bar coda of the rocking F major chords of Billy's dream.

Act IV, Scene I. This same rocking F major accompanies Billy's extended aria, the middle section of which (6-12) switches to recitative between Billy and Dansker. At (6) 7 the mutinous fifth on, "They swear you shan't swing". At (10) 9 the "Starry Vere" motive. The last 23 bars are accompanied by common chords, again centring on F, related to those that had closed the preceding scene. (b) (16-20). Orchestral interlude. Ship-calls, and the Rigging motive. Act IV, Scene II. (20-27) Grave, E, slow procession of the entire crew. After the monotoned sentence, Vere's motive at (27) 3. At (30) ff, after the execution, the mutinous rising fifth, starting in E, dying down into B $\flat$ .

EPILOGUE (37-end). Recitative and arioso, Vere, B $\flat$ . The quavers picture the limitless sea, Claggart's theme cuts across it, as in the Prologue. "O, what have I done", now no longer to mutiny motive. At (40) the phrases become calmer and more lyrical. The last sixteen bars are over a B $\flat$  pedal, which becomes softer and softer, until the voice is left to finish the opera alone.

Considered as piece of musical construction, this score is masterly. The movements are most carefully keyed and integrated. The prologue and epilogue, the F minor scene with the novice, the chaconne and Billy's F major aria are all passages of great beauty; and the incidental beauties are also many: the simple and so perfectly right setting of, "Guard boat! Indomitable!", I (15) 8, comes to mind as an example. Nevertheless, the final impression must be that there is not enough lusty, forward-urging music to carry the work along in the opera house. For one thing, the scoring is often slight in texture for stretches on end; for another, there is too much recitative. Opera has always lived on its singing. Like Billy Budd, Britten "can sing"; he has proved it again and again. But in this opera there is surely "some fault in the angelic song, some stammer in the . . . speech", as if Britten had been afraid of letting himself go and retreated from melody into declamation. At great moments which call for lyrical outburst full lyrical expansion is lacking. "Billy Budd, king of the birds! Billy Budd, king of the world!"—I (31)—starts exultantly, but at "working aloft with my mates" it begins to fall off; and the voice is given little support other than the flying arpeggios of Billy's motive, landing on chords as if to accompany recitative. Vere's aria, "I accept their verdict"—II: ii (97)—is really recitative, accompanied for the most part by detached chords, and Claggart's monologue tails away after the fine

beginning, "O beauty, handsomeness, goodness", until after 35 bars it reaches another cantabile phrase, "I will wipe you off the face of the earth". Indeed, Billy's aria, "Look, through the port comes the moonshine astray!" affords one of the few real chances for extended singing throughout the work. How welcome, and how effective it is!

The way in which words have been set demands comment. In earlier works Britten has shown himself a master at declaiming the English language to music that fits the phrases so aptly that it seems to have grown from the speech-accents—so that words and music are ever afterwards remembered as one. Naturalness of declamation marked 'Peter Grimes' and the early songs. It was probably learnt, in part, from Purcell. But just as Purcell developed mannerisms in his setting, using mis-thrown accents and several florid notes to one syllable, so in his later writing for the voice Britten has become mannered. There are many instances of this in 'Billy Budd'. "We seem to have the dé—vil's öwn luck"—I: (18) 3—or the first two words of, "I can't bear it"—II: ii (53) 11—set to quick semiquavers, so that what the audience hears each time is "I can bear it". The tenor-writing for the central figure is largely conditioned by Peter Pears's voice. Vere the intellectual and Vere anguished are well expressed, but in the man of action, the captain whom Billy and the crew worship, we cannot believe. It is in Vere's part that the wilful oddities of word-setting are most apparent. The stressing of "What *have* I done?" or the melismas on "in . . . finite sea" are examples of devices justified in musical but not in dramatic terms.

To sum up then: 'Billy Budd' is a considerable achievement. There were immense difficulties in the way of its success, some of them inherent in the choice of subject, some of them self-imposed. The libretto, though skilful, is flawed by a vagueness in the presentation of what its writers have chosen to make the central theme. So much of the vocal writing is recitative and so much of the orchestral accompaniment simply flourishes and figurations that the music as a whole fails in dramatic urgency. Words and music are jointly responsible for the undervitalized impression the opera leaves. It is tender, but also sentimental: inventive, finely so, but not with a compulsive invention that sweeps the listeners forward. For this reason it is unlikely that 'Billy Budd' will win for itself the same firm place in our operatic repertory as 'Peter Grimes'; but if it fails to do so, we shall be deprived of some of the most individual, the most evocative and the most beautiful music that any contemporary composer has given us.

## BARZUN'S LIFE OF BERLIOZ

BY WINTON DEAN

Most classical or romantic composers and most un-Gallic of French artists, Berlioz after more than a century remains an aesthetic battle-ground. But if his reputation is not to resemble those archaeological diagrams in which a dozen stratified civilizations are imposed one upon the other, it is time some clarification was attempted. Jacques Barzun's intention in his new book<sup>1</sup> was evidently to achieve this once and for all. He has brought up the immense atom-splitting apparatus of transatlantic musicology to clear the field. Unhappily the resulting combustion, while it has disposed of a good deal of rubbish, has littered the terrain with extraneous fragments of every kind, many of which are only too likely to supply Berlioz's enemies (who are seldom the regular critics) with ammunition enough to last a life-time. To vary the metaphor, Professor Barzun has made the armchair strategist's mistake of trying to defend every position with equal strength. He has in consequence left his line so open to penetration and outflanking as to make it appear far weaker than it really is. There is nothing for it but for every true Berlioz-lover to come to the rescue before more damage is done; to withdraw Professor Barzun to the supply or logistics department, where his industry would be better employed, and to man those positions which, however irregularly disposed, are worthy and capable of defence.

There is another and perhaps more vital reason why Barzun's methods deserve close examination. Musicology—taken here in the widest sense as embracing history and criticism—is a young branch of the musical art. It has not yet settled down on agreed premises, as any one can discover who tackles the musical literature of the last two or three generations. We have had aesthetic theorems, romantic word-portraits—the method of the historical novel, derived almost equally from Alexandre Dumas and the popular press, is still distressingly common—dry technical analysis, political log-rolling and Freudian stereoscopy. Most books on music to-day combine one or two of these attitudes with straight biography and style-criticism, in differing proportion. There is no generally accepted norm—one reason for this being that few writers

<sup>1</sup>*Berlioz and The Romantic Century*. By Jacques Barzun. (Gollancz, 2 vols., three guineas.)

have squarely faced the nature and limitations of criticism itself. Recent years have seen greater emphasis laid on two further elements—textual research, in which first Germany and then America took the lead, and the study of the social and cultural background that gave birth to the music under discussion. This is all to the good; but if the possibilities have been immeasurably enlarged, so has the responsibility. In an age when the output of musical literature is rapidly rising to satisfy the demand of an expanding if imperfectly trained public, how is this responsibility being faced? The question is brought into prominence by Barzun's book.

This musicological brontosaurus runs to somewhere near half a million words. Hitched to its tail are six supplements, a seventy-page bibliography in small type ranging from Rabelais to Freud and the *Ciano Diaries*, from Johnson's 'Lives of the Poets' to a detective story by Freeman Wills Crofts, an index of misconceptions about Berlioz, and a general index in proportion. The author, a professor of nineteenth-century history at Columbia University, has been assembling this monster for twenty years, inspired by the conviction that Berlioz is not only the most misunderstood and under-rated of composers but "one of the world's very few complete artists" and must be acclaimed as such, whatever convulsions of social and aesthetic reinterpretation result from the process. There is nothing of the historical novel here, nor of technical academicism (there are not even any musical quotations), nor of political log-rolling, and very little psychoanalysis; on the other hand, the minutiae of scholarship and the social background are very much in evidence.

The vastness of the scheme compels admiration and wonder, and up to a point there is much virtue in its execution. The author, as his title implies, has sought to place Berlioz in a just relationship to the society with which he was so often in collision. He has been successful; this part of the book shows him at his best. It is lucid, penetrating and of great importance for a proper understanding of the central figure. There is an admirable chapter on the artist in society, in which Barzun examines the effect of social disturbance on politics, commerce and art, and brings the picture up to date with examples of the unsavoury practices of musical trade-unions in the United States. His discussion of Berlioz's literary works is interesting, if sounder on the manner than the matter of his criticism. The biographical sections are readable and in most respects more than adequate, though not wholly free from factual error, and inconveniently sparing of dates (Barzun curiously rebukes Adolphe Boschot for overloading his biography with facts). What he says about Berlioz's personal relations, for instance with his parents and

his son, is so illuminating that we should have welcomed more. The supplementary apparatus is often valuable, for instance the detailed and acid demonstration of the inaccuracies of Weingartner's and Charles Malherbe's collected edition (Berlioz, incidentally, was not the only French composer "improved" by Malherbe). Another well-merited animadversion is directed against the many conductors who ignore not only Berlioz's written precepts but also his phrasing and dynamic markings. There is a mass of curious material in the Iconography, and a full statement on the whereabouts of sources literary and musical. Yet the research-scholar has in one astonishing respect eclipsed the musician and neglected the general reader. We are given an index of the alleged misconceptions of critics, but not of the indubitable conceptions of Berlioz; we are told where his umbrella is to be found, but denied a dated list of his compositions. Most of them, without their dates, can be found in the general index; but there is no list of the titles of his songs. In these circumstances the Toveian adjuration

Irish Melodies. See *Irlande*  
*Irlande*. See *Mélodies Irlandaises*

is likely to provoke a hollower laugh than Barzun can have intended.

The above objections are not crucial (we have our "Master Musicians", though Barzun would place Elliot's Berlioz volume on an index of a more expurgatorial kind). Unhappily they are not the whole story. Three further defects in rising order of gravity not only prevent the author from serving Berlioz as he would wish, but also point a solemn warning that musicology must take heed if it is not to strangle itself in its own swaddling clothes. The first defect is physical: the work suffers from the same excess of top-hamper that rendered the brontosaurus of prehistory unfit for locomotion. Professor Barzun is aware of this (in one of his supplements he talks of "dropsical bulk"), but not of its cause, which is connected with the second and much more serious defect. This is one of method. Any attempt to re-establish the status of an artist must be based on a critical and comparative examination of his work. Yet throughout the book Barzun's temper is not that of a judicial or critical enquiry, but of an impassioned speech for the defence. Not only is the hero presented in the best possible light, the facts of history being stressed or ignored accordingly, but the testimony of other witnesses and counsel is continually impugned, their arguments travestied and their character and intelligence ridiculed. The process, of which examples are given below, was no doubt unconscious, and caused in part by the author's living in such close and prolonged contact with

his subject that he came to identify himself with Berlioz; but in a book for which so much is claimed ("remarkable as biography, as history, as criticism and as interpretation", in the words of the blurb) its effect is calamitous, all the more so in that many of the misconceptions that Barzun sets out to expose are or were gross and rampant. He belabours Adolphe Boschot's biography at great length, and with reason, without noticing that time and again he lays himself open to the same charges in reverse. His Supplement 2 (Biographer's Fallacy) is a caution in this respect—and incidentally finds him clutching at a perilous statement of Harold Nicolson's to the effect that a biographer is entitled to suppress new factual material "which is so sensational and shocking that it will disturb, not only the average reader, but the whole proportions of his own work". Unless it is done in the interests of public decency, this is sheer hubris; it slams the door on the reader's confidence while opening it to all manner of historical malversation.

The third charge, which partly underlies the last, is aesthetic and concerns the nature and function of criticism. The trouble arises at the very start, where Barzun confuses two sets of principles. He puts forth a defence of special pleading as "the very principle of biography", and it is hardly too much to say that this is the principle he consistently follows. Yet even if it can be defended in biography, which is questionable, it is an affront to criticism, to which pleading of any kind is irrelevant since the critic is not counsel but judge. We naturally seek to discover more about Barzun's conception of criticism; and here we find some quaint *obiter dicta* mingled with a wholesale delivery of brickbats, many of them directed at English critics. In his opinion the critic's worst fault is "that of believing perfection marred by unacceptable detail", a statement evidently provoked by a common criticism of Berlioz. Would that it were true! He tells us that "the power to create implies the power to judge", and that if a critic finds a passage in Berlioz unmusical, "he is likely to be not remote from, but close to, the original sources of all music", whatever that may mean. He objects to the distinction between music as a time-art and painting as a space-art: "a piece of music must be perceived, just like a painting, instantaneously in all its parts". How is this remarkable feat to be achieved—with 'The Ring' or 'Les Troyens' for instance? His commended critics are often surprising too. "The opinion of those competent to judge, from César Cui to Arthur Herve, supports the view that Meyerbeer drew heavily on Berlioz's melody, instrumentation and dramatic conceptions". Are they the only people competent to judge, or the most competent? We find James Agate

treated with great respect as "that seasoned critic of music and drama", and his preference for "the worst Berlioz" over "the best of anybody else" acclaimed as "most important", whereas a contemptuous, patronizing tone is reserved for Tovey with his "weak historical sense". Van Dieren's opinion is quoted as that of "a great composer"; he and Varèse indeed are set beside Berlioz as to-day's "comparable innovators". When Baudelaire testifies on the wrong side, "allowance must be made for the critic's propagandist motive and imperfect knowledge of music". When at last the Professor, finding himself in disagreement with another writer on the merits of 'The Barber of Baghdad', asks in a curt footnote, "Or is his remark just music criticism?", we are tempted to call a halt and point out with some acerbity that he would have done better to enquire what music criticism is, before allowing himself to be delivered of such an intolerable deal of devious reasoning and flatulent aesthetics.

For the vital question is never faced. The author plunges with exuberance into every aesthetic quagmire within miles of his route, to emerge muddy but unbowed in the conviction that he has proved everything required. But no firm standards are ever laid down or applied, and Barzun is free, in the interests of his client, to beg any question, argue beside every point and swear in both the scales against either scale to his heart's content. The point is, of course, not that critical standards should or could be absolute and universal, but that each critic must make his own clear to the reader and apply them consistently instead of raising or lowering them *ad libitum*. To Barzun the one criterion appears to be that Berlioz must be justified at all costs. The result in the long run is not aesthetic but anaesthetic; he forfeits first the confidence and then the attention of the reader, while his style, elsewhere clear and often witty, deteriorates in the critical chapters into turgidity and imprecision. He further handicaps himself by refusing to quote Berlioz's music while at the same time quoting an endless stream of second-hand opinions about it, often from trivial sources. His method of proving Berlioz a born contrapuntist is to list sixteen places in his work where fugato occurs—"This bald enumeration clinches once for all the question of Berlioz's attitude towards counterpoint"—and then quote four authors in favour of their merit. The critical chapters, which comprise fully half the book, leave us with a jumble of observations varying from the penetrating to the absurd, but yielding a dominant impression of irrelevance, and much that is acutely observed is swept away in the flood. It is significant that Elliot is quoted as an "opponent" of Berlioz. Elliot is no more an

opponent than Barzun himself; he is a critic, not a propagandist, and even if we do not agree with everything he says we are likely to learn more about Berlioz's music from him than from an author who takes out his critical fangs before sitting down to his meal.

Further quotation will show how special pleading pushes even the Muse of History off her seat. While the social and political background is drawn with skill and accuracy—although Hoche did not die at twenty-three and Jullien was not in America from 1851 till 1854, but only from August 1853—musical history is less scrupulously treated. It is quite untrue that when 'Benvenuto Cellini' was first produced (1838) "even the overture was an offensive novelty, for the opera public was not accustomed to hearing ten minutes of instrumental music ahead of the real show" ('William Tell' and 'Masaniello', two of the biggest successes of the decade, are remembered almost exclusively by their overtures); that Berlioz "was alone when he launched his attack against Italian opera and parlour songs and began his crusade in behalf of Beethoven and modern music" (Weber, Hoffmann and others had begun long before); that, "When Berlioz came on the scene . . . the abandonment of the *continuo* had disorganized the older orchestral balance and a new amalgam had not yet been found" (what about the later Haydn and Mozart, not to mention Beethoven and Schubert?); that "When Handel began to write dramatic oratorios instead of operas the outcry, the ridicule, the jokes and the imputations of artistic folly were as violent as the later ones against Berlioz—and almost identical in wording" (the early oratorios were highly successful). Berlioz's instrumental innovations do not require an advocacy that runs down the eighteenth-century attitude to the orchestra (and to music as a whole) and even quotes Lord Chesterfield's statement that the importance ascribed to music in Italy is "a proof of the decline of that country". Romantic art is here consistently endowed with the properties of great art in general (the egotistical, extravagant side being minimized, since it must not even seem to be imputed to Berlioz), but no exact comparison is ever made on the musical level; consequently the inferiority of other periods can be tacitly assumed. The trouble here seems to be that, while Barzun has studied Berlioz in detail, his knowledge of other music is cursory (he talks of "the Weber piano concerto" and calls 'Elijah' a posthumous oratorio). He exaggerates Berlioz's influence on later composers beyond all reason, ascribing to this source not only works that happen to have a Berliozian subject (poor Gounod in his 'Romeo and Juliet' is accused of "diluting and sugaring up the master's inspirations and spoiling the taste for the

stronger originals"), but also the Russian ballet and the greater part of Wagner (of whom more below). None but a fanatic would agree that Berlioz was the dominant influence in music up to the First World War.

What light does Barzun throw on the nature of Berlioz's musical genius? His case is that "within the limit of human perfection he had everything", achieving a virtually perfect unity in his character, his musical life and all his most important scores; and therefore in the eyes of criticism "his offence is not merely that his spiritual riches goad the envious and impotent, but that it deprives even the well-meaning of the chance to pity, condone or assist". In fact, he is "impregnable to criticism". But no artist, however perfect, can ever be that, and if he could he would be an intolerable bore; Barzun is presumably equating criticism with carping. There is a tremendous case to be made for Berlioz, but that put forward in this book leaks at every joint. Indeed it is on the face of it absurd, since the author's only method of accounting for the failure of all critics to agree with him is the imputation of petty spite or congenital asininity or even feeble-mindedness.

Let us first examine this question of unity and some of Barzun's pronouncements on the subject. "No one more than Berlioz, perhaps, has followed so closely the principle of artistic unity which states that decorative parts must be derived from structural." In the first place this is not a universally valid principle; secondly, others have followed it far more closely than Berlioz (Wagner, Liszt, Schönberg). But we are presently told that Berlioz's technique was "peculiarly his own in that it did not rely on a system, whether of leitmotives, like Wagner's, or of a single thematic root for all movements, as in Liszt's symphonic poems. The 'Symphonie Fantastique' gives a hint of both these subsequent inventions, but it avoids their somewhat mechanical principle, unsuited to Berlioz's principle of fitness through flexibility". Now (i) Berlioz's method here is infinitely the more mechanical (though not necessarily to be condemned for that), since the theme is not developed; (ii) Liszt's monothematic method was not a subsequent invention but goes back beyond Berlioz to Schubert's 'Wanderer' Fantasy; (iii) Berlioz's use of the *idée fixe* is not a hint of the leitmotive (a term consistently misused by Barzun), but an echo of the operatic reminiscence motive used by Weber and many earlier composers—though this does not prevent the Professor for claiming for Berlioz an "original use of the leitmotive" in 1827 and even that "the return in each movement [of 'Harold in Italy'] of the viola voice in its original form is . . . a fresh use of the leitmotive principle";

(iv) how do the many themes and episodes transferred by Berlioz from work to work (including this same *idée fixe*) manage to retain their perfect structural identity with each successive context? This question is never asked, much less answered.

The same search for structural perfection lands Barzun in very heavy weather on the question of programme music. Starting from one of Berlioz's less perceptive articles (even that great critic was sometimes bound by the prejudices of his age, though the Professor will not have it so), he demonstrates that Berlioz never wrote programme music at all, that the Romantics were far too intelligent to do anything so silly, and that programme music is a unicorn anyhow—without considering the one material point, the quality of the music itself. He does not seem to notice that Berlioz's own statement that "the programme [of the *Fantastique*] is to fill the gaps inevitably left in the development of the dramatic plan by the limitations of musical utterance" not only releases a whole alley-full of cats from this particular bag but undermines his entire case—which is that Berlioz, unlike Wagner and everyone else, never transgressed the proper confines of music. There is something seriously wrong with a "dramatic plan" that "inevitably" leaves "gaps" that can only be filled by words in a programme. So far from admitting this, the Professor lectures Berlioz's contemporaries for believing the composer's own programme; yet he fails to quote its five different versions or even to state wherein they differ. The truth is of course that these "gaps" represent the great defect in Berlioz's artistic vision, which run through his work from first to last. He sprang from peak to peak, ignoring the fact that the artist who omits any part of his design essential for its total comprehension is asking for trouble from audience and critic alike. In face of this difficulty the Professor behaves like a man walking along a cliff-top with his hands in his pockets: if other people are frightened, there must be something the matter with their sense of balance. He devotes a Supplement to 'The Fetish of Form', in which the dead horse of purblind academicism is ceremonially flogged and yet another public reprimand administered to Sir Donald Tovey. He even tries to justify the structure of that rag-bag 'Lélio' on the score of its "undeflected sanity of purpose" and its "historic role in the development of the dramatic symphony and opera-oratorio". Elliot, for his candid and unflattering description of this work, is consigned abruptly and literally to Bedlam.

To Barzun, on the other hand, the dramatic symphony—Berlioz's title for 'Romeo and Juliet'—is not only an art-form in its own

right but the central art-form of the nineteenth century. Here we see the same technique at work, coupled with a terminological confusion between statement and metaphor. We are told that in the Paris of 1835 "what the paying public meant by dramatic music was opera". Barzun would have gone less astray if he had understood that the words still mean that, and that the term "dramatic" when applied to a symphony is a metaphor. It is a truism that great art thrives on the limitations of its own medium; hence great opera never ignores the demands of the stage. By denying the link between drama and the stage, a procedure worthy of that prince of terminologists Humpty-Dumpty, Barzun is able to convert defects into virtues. That the whole subject of opera and drama is a closed book to him is apparent from the enlightening footnote: "The history of opera criticism suggests that no good libretto has ever been written . . . Has 'Rigoletto' a good libretto—or 'Traviata'? It doesn't matter!" What are we to think when we are told elsewhere that Rossini's scores "violated every principle of dramatic truth", though no such principles are specified; that in 'Benvenuto Cellini' "Berlioz broke with the current routine and liberated opera", whereas "Wagner himself—for all his advantage in coming after Berlioz—only led Europe back to a somewhat magnified opera"? We learn from 'Romeo and Juliet' that the dramatic symphony is "the literal 'music drama'", from 'Les Troyens' "the important conclusion that all so-called dramatic music . . . approaches its true end in proportion as it resembles the epic", that the "purposeful 'discontinuity'" of 'Benvenuto Cellini' puts it in advance of 'Meistersinger' and 'Falstaff', since it is "a principle of dramatic composition which has so far been adopted only by few . . . The resulting music drama is thus a quintessence of imaginative and sensory perceptions". In defence of this remarkable "principle" Barzun produces the hoary fallacy that the subtler truths of Shakespeare cannot be conveyed on the stage, and also a fancied parallel from Bach. "What would a musical Buddhist make of the repeated cry of 'Barabbas!' in the Saint Matthew Passion?" The answer is "Everything", since Bach has recreated the whole scene and all the protagonists *in terms of music*, whereas Berlioz at comparable moments too often did no such thing. When he did bring off a dramatic coup of the first order (and this is not as rare as is sometimes supposed) the Professor hardly appreciates it. Of the wonderful scene in 'Les Troyens' in which, without a word uttered, Hector's widow leads her little son to be blessed by Priam, he says that "the usual opera-goer is likely to find it 'undramatic' if not disturbing". The opposite is the

truth; it is the very fact that the stage is essential to the full effect that makes the episode so profoundly moving. But having satisfied himself that librettos do not matter, Barzun can afford not to scrutinize Berlioz's own, while talking glibly of "the characteristic involvements of ordinary opera—its absurd wrangling and legal technicalities".

When defending an apparently hopeless case—such as his contention that 'Romeo and Juliet', so far from being a hybrid, is really a new species in a "tightly knit" form—he does not call technical evidence, but employs the well-known forensic device of pleading that he has no case to answer. The merits of 'Romeo and Juliet', a work abounding in the richest creative genius, must not be argued here; but to pretend that it is formally perfect is to fly in the face of every principle of critical judgment—which is not concerned with the sanctity of traditional forms. Incidentally the occasional unscrupulousness of the Professor's methods is illustrated by his rebuke to "certain analysts" for misquoting the scoring of Romeo's oboe theme when it returns during the Capulets' Feast: in pointing out their error he commits a bigger one himself. In the opinion even of his admirers (other than fanatics) Berlioz's works are nearly all torsos. Many of us, in our heart of hearts, may prefer a Berliozian torso to a full agglomeration of Wagnerian statuary, just as we may prefer the broken frieze of the Parthenon to the complete dome of St. Paul's; but to dismiss the common opinion with contumely is no service either to musical scholarship or to Berlioz.

It is perhaps in his treatment of Wagner that the Professor does most violence to his own Muse. There is much to be said against Wagner, both as man and artist, and again many of us, when we hear Berlioz belittled by Wagnerians, are tempted to say it. But a gross travesty rebounds on the traducer, and a gross travesty is what we are given here. The Professor brackets Wagnerism with Darwinism and Marxism, since in all three "the spirit of system and the rhetoric of science carried all before them"—as if politics and biology were subject to the same considerations as art. He regularly confounds Wagner's practice with his precepts (written before the music they were intended to illustrate, partly for propaganda and partly to clear his own mind), and with the claims of his associates and admirers. He misrepresents Wagner's musical procedure at every turn, and clearly has no idea what is meant by the term "leitmotive". It is quite untrue that Wagner set up "a repertory of labels to identify inexpressive themes". In the first place, the labelling was not done by Wagner; secondly, the main purpose of the leitmotives is structural, not illustrative;

thirdly, they are seldom inexpressive. Barzun tells us that "certainly no one had ever had to acquire such an apparatus of information for the enjoyment of any art as was required by Wagner's system"—a charge far more applicable to Berlioz's lack of system. Berlioz, of course, never used leitmotives in the true sense of the term; but he did depend on extra-musical collaboration from his audience, as he himself admitted. He still depends on it, and the more of it we give, the more we enjoy him. His friend d'Ortigue truly wrote of the first performance of 'The Damnation of Faust': "M. Berlioz loses sight of his audience and goes beyond the bounds where their perceptions stop". The only thing for them to do, if they are to enjoy Berlioz, is to cultivate their perceptions.

Needless to say, we are told that the best elements in Wagner, collectively and in detail, were stolen from Berlioz. "Berlioz's secular scriptures, composed and sung in the symphonic style became the Wagnerian opera as soon as music was reattached to acting and scenery: the Dramatic Symphony germinated the Music Drama." It is certainly true that Wagner learned a great deal from Berlioz, especially from 'Romeo and Juliet,' and that this substantial debt has not always been acknowledged. But to suggest that he appropriated "atmosphere" entire and compounded the whole 'Tristan' Prelude and Liebestod out of undigested lumps of Berlioz, and further that his procedure in 'Meistersinger' and 'The Ring' has seriously damaged the Berlioz originals on which they allegedly drew (for which we should be very angry with that beast Wagner), is palpably absurd. Does the Professor seriously imagine that, if Berlioz's works are as perfect as he would have us suppose, anything that Wagner did could make the slightest difference to their reputation? We are even told that "some of the sombre foreboding music in 'Die Walküre' recalls most forcibly 'Les Troyens'". Perhaps it does: but if Barzun were to consult those dates of which he is so sparing, he would find 'Die Walküre' was written first.

A more fruitful enquiry concerns the closing years of Berlioz's life. The Professor flatly denies that there was any falling off in the abundance and inventiveness of his genius ("the common notion . . . rests on general ignorance of the later works and the documents of the closing decades"). In view of the fact that Berlioz's last ten years produced but a single work, and the composer himself, nearly seven years before his death, abdicated with the words, "No more of that. Othello's occupation's gone," this seems a dubious assertion. What the author presumably means is, as he expresses it elsewhere, that "almost to the very end, he felt unused

creative powers which could have found expression if the making of a work had not entailed a public bout". There is an interesting psychological problem here, which this book shelves. Was it wholly on account of Harriet's illness that Berlioz in 1849 refused to write down the symphony in A minor of which a great part came to him in a dream—an incident that surely deserved more than a footnote in a work of these proportions? Why did he so easily succumb to retrospection and inactivity after middle life? Berlioz himself described how, when he felt himself obsessed by plans for vast and daring works, he stopped to ask "What's the use? . . . Why undertake such a work . . . and feel growing within me a frightening enthusiasm for it, . . . only to have it fall into the hands of children or of bores?" He wrote to d'Ortigue in 1863: "I live like a man who will die any minute, who no longer believes in anything, and yet who acts as if he believed in everything". It is surely not fanciful to suppose some connection between this spiritual vacuum and the lack of some centrifugal and unifying element in nearly all his large works. His aversion from critical journalism, which he yet continued to practise, may have been due to a subconscious suspicion that he was wasting powers that should have been better employed elsewhere. For a composer in business for forty-five years, who lived longer than Bach or Beethoven and nearly as long as Mozart and Schubert put together, Berlioz was by no means prolific.

Barzun does not encourage such speculations, or indeed any others about Berlioz's spiritual beliefs. He tells us that the *mélange des genres* of which the Romantics are accused "is actually the statement of a vision and the expression of a religious belief". A substitute for religion it may have been; but Barzun is surely rash to accord it the ceremonial honours of a true faith. His uneasiness is apparent in his handling of 'L'Enfance du Christ'. After a fair outline of Berlioz's humanism (he observes that in this most satisfying of his works the composer was greatly helped by the familiarity of the Bible story), he makes a brief but disastrous incursion into religious philosophy. He explains Berlioz's rejection of an absolute God on the ground that "as a dramatic artist Berlioz could not accept this convenient but antidramatic totality", and commits himself to the statement: "In short, the *quality* of a belief must always enter into our judgment of its validity". The implication that what matters is not so much what you believe but how you believe it is quadruply startling in an American of French birth teaching history in the twentieth century.

In sum, this book is a monumental warning of the dangers both

of misapplied good intentions and of a musicology that allows itself to be overloaded with more or less relevant subsidiary matter at the expense of music itself. It is impossible to believe that Professor Barzun would have written as he did if he had considered the implications of his own thought. How could he have failed to see that his defence of the truthfulness of Berlioz's *Memoirs*—"It would have been strange indeed if the dramatist whose music shows such a genius for strong veracity had been unable to reveal himself in words with comparable force and precision"—not only presupposes a connection between power over notes and power over words (which is notoriously not the case) but also confuses two totally different sets of standards, those of artistic veracity and strict fact? The only hope for this book would have been a radical disestablishment, a separation of the biography, personal and social, from the shackles of the critical subchapters and interchapters and the abandonment of most of the latter. What the literature of music requires to-day is not more reading or research or social interpretation, but more hard thought. There must be agreement on historical method, and a firm grasp of the fact that art and the artist must be judged by standards that apply; it is hopeless to discuss opera without first studying both music and the stage, or church music without some knowledge of the ritual and philosophical implications of the church. Otherwise the musicologist who lumbers on to the battlefield with his massive apparatus and opens fire without surveying it in detail from every possible angle will leave such a chaos behind him that his discouraged successors may find it more than their time is worth to clear it all up.

## ROSSINI'S OVERTURE TO 'WILLIAM TELL'

By PERCIVAL R. KIRBY

IN 'Music & Letters' for July 1948 Adam Carse, in a paper of vital and timely interest, emphasized the urgent need for new and critically revised editions of the orchestral classics.

In support of his thesis he examined anew Beethoven's C minor Symphony and, comparing the various printed full scores with each other, and with Beethoven's autograph score, he showed with the utmost clarity how this presumably familiar classic has undergone change after change at the hands of different editors, until one almost rubs one's eyes (or should it be ears?) on realizing how far from the composer's original intentions most performances of this Symphony must be.

Now the C minor Symphony does not stand alone in this respect, and Carse is right in demanding new editions of the bulk of the works in the orchestral repertory. His article, moreover, has impelled me to make one small contribution towards the question he has raised, and one which should have been made long ago.

Every musician is familiar with Rossini's overture to 'William Tell', that highly original though rather hackneyed work; and such is its familiarity that few ever stop to consider whether the text which is regularly performed is a true reflection of what the composer actually intended.

One note in particular has been the subject of constant argument between conductors and orchestral players, namely, the last note in the thirty-third bar of the cor anglais solo in the so-called *ranz des vaches*.

Every printed score that I have been able to examine, with one exception, and all printed orchestral parts, have A for this note. The exception, however, has B, and this is in line with an oral tradition that has been handed down by some conductors and players.

Years ago, in my student days, Sir Charles Stanford told me, in a composition lesson, that the note in question ought to be B, affirming that Rossini had actually written that note. He was, however, practically the only conductor in London at that time who held that view. But last year, in Rome, I obtained a new recording of the overture made by Toscanini,<sup>1</sup> and was surprised and pleased

<sup>1</sup> La Voce del Padrone (H.M.V.), D.A. 1695-96.

to hear that he had this particular Rossinian B in his bonnet. As I was in Europe, I determined to settle the question for good, and, when passing through Paris, I lost no time in visiting the Conservatoire and in examining Rossini's autograph score.

A cursory glance was sufficient to show me that a thorough examination of the overture was necessary, since it was manifest that, in several places, no printed score that I had ever seen corresponded with that of the composer. As a first step, therefore, I compared bar by bar the autograph score with the earliest printed edition, that published by Troupenas in 1829. I also asked for and obtained a microfilm of the autograph score of the entire overture, together with enlargements of several important pages. On revisiting Rome I examined two early Italian editions of the work and, on returning to South Africa, I scrutinized the Breitkopf & Härtel edition and two impressions (of different dates) of the score published by Schott, as well as several editions in miniature score. The latter are of less importance, except, perhaps, the early one published by Donajowski, which is much closer to the composer's intentions than that of Eulenburg, which would appear to have been based on the edition of Breitkopf & Härtel. But the autograph and the six printed editions examined must be fully considered. To these six full scores I have given reference letters to save space, thus:

- A = Rossini's autograph score of the opera (Library of Paris Conservatoire, No. 28847).
- T = Earliest printed full score of the opera (Troupenas, Paris, 1829).
- G = Printed miniature full score of the opera (Guidi, Florence, N.D., but an early edition).
- R = Printed full score of the opera (Ratti, Rome, N.D., but also an early edition).
- B & H = Full score of the overture (Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, N.D., but No. 1970 of their Partitur-Bibliothek).
- S = Full score of the overture (Schott, Mainz, N.D.). I have examined two impressions of this edition, which differ in one vital detail. This will be discussed in the appropriate place.

Of these scores the most used are probably the two last. In particular, large orchestras generally possess and use the score and parts published by Breitkopf & Härtel. Mention of the orchestral parts raises the question of their accuracy or otherwise, and this will be dealt with when necessary.

For convenience I number the bars of the four movements consecutively, so that the passages referred to may be readily identified.

Our troubles start at the very beginning of the overture, for Rossini, in his autograph score, which was written on oblong paper

ruled with only sixteen staves, had perforce to use the seven lowest staves to accommodate the five solo violoncellos, the *ripieno* violoncellos and the double basses.

There would be no difficulty at this stage were it not for the fact that Rossini, in his list of instruments, gave the second-lowest stave to the violoncellos, reserving the lowest for the double basses, which, however, he did not name, since he wrote the word *andante* where the instrument would normally have been named. There is, however, no doubt as to his intention in the matter: the lowest stave but one is, as he indicates, for the violoncellos, and the lowest of all for the basses. But immediately he apparently contradicted this, for he renamed his seven lowest staves thus (from the highest downwards):

- |    |   |                  |
|----|---|------------------|
| 1. | 1 | Violoncello Solo |
| 2. | 2 | Violoncello      |
| 3. | 3 | id Solo          |
| 4. | 4 | id Solo          |
| 5. | 5 | id Solo          |
| 6. | } | id Ripieni       |
| 7. |   |                  |

It will be noticed that the words "id Ripieni" were written *between* the two lowest staves. This, at first sight, might suggest that the *ripieno* violoncellos were themselves divided. But a little reflection will show that Rossini intended the lowest line for double basses only, for the utilization of violoncellos as well as basses in the lowest part would ruin the octave effect obviously planned by the composer in bar 17 *et seq.*

Now for a few details. A designates this movement *Andte.* T prints it as *Andante*: Metron. 1=54, and this marking is followed by G, B & H and S, but not by R, which gives plain *Andante*. But since the original printed edition has the metronome mark, presumably Rossini authorized it, or perhaps did not worry about it. In A bar 1 for violoncello I has no dynamic marking whatever, and in bar 2 the grace-note is an *acciaccatura*. T, however, prints a crotchet *appoggiatura*, a very different thing, and so also do R and G. B & H (both score and parts) and S, however, agree with A.

But the minim in bar 2 has, below it, in A, in Rossini's typical script, a clear *decrescendo* sign, which is correctly reproduced by T, R, G and S. B & H, however, substitute a meaningless accent mark in both score and parts, saving their faces by adding, without authority, the term *espress.* A similar error occurs in the B & H edition in bar 7. One recalls Wagner's trenchant remarks on a similar misreading of Weber's intentions in the overture to 'Der Freischütz'.

The remaining solo violoncellos (Nos. II, III, IV and V) are clearly marked in A *pianissimo*. T, R and G follow this marking, but B & H and S content themselves with a mere *piano*.

These may be minor points, but they indicate the carelessness of some of those who edited the work during the century that has elapsed since it was composed. But the plot thickens! In bar 11 the *ripieno* violoncellos enter for the first time along with the basses, accompanying solo violoncello V. A shows clearly that Rossini's intention was that the *ripieno* cellos and the basses should be a tenth apart. T reproduces A exactly, though not describing the two lowest lines as cellos and basses. R, G and S, however, describe both sets of instruments as "bassi", but print them, correctly, a third apart. If these two lines were played by divided double basses, the result would be that the *primo* would be a tenth away from solo violoncello V, an obvious absurdity. B & H, realizing this, have not scrupled to alter these two staves completely, giving both to basses, *divisi*, and transposing the upper part an octave higher in order to carry out what they presumed to be Rossini's intentions. The result is a complete, and unauthorized, change of colouring and, in some places, a complete falsification of the original. For example, in bars 15-16, where in the stave for violoncelli *ripieni* A gives  $f\ c'$ , B & H, rewriting it for double basses, unblushingly print  $f'\ c'$ , sounding, of course,  $f\ c$ , a descending fourth instead of an ascending fifth, and on the wrong instruments.<sup>2</sup>

The old Donajowski miniature score printed these parts correctly, though labelling both "contrabassi". But the familiar Eulenburg miniature score follows the edition of B & H, and is quite incorrect and untrustworthy.

Space does not permit me to discuss variants in phrasing in this movement, though there are numerous places where Rossini's plain directions have been omitted or even altered. But in bar 22 A carries the *crescendo* in the timpani part through to the middle of bar 23 where the *decrescendo* then occurs. This is how Toscanini has the passage played in his new recording. But B & H, followed by the German miniature scores, make the *crescendo* up to the end of bar 22, and the *decrescendo* throughout bar 23. Their orchestral part, however, is correct. One wonders how often arguments have taken place on this detail!

Now we come to several really serious points. In bars 24-25 and 26-27 A has in each instance a *crescendo* mark in all the solo parts, and bar 28 is clearly marked in those parts *pianissimo*.

<sup>2</sup> I have used Helmholtz's notation to indicate the pitch of the notes in this and later examples. See Helmholtz, H.L.F., 'The Sensations of Tone,' London, 1875, p. 25.

T is correct here, and R and G substantially so (though omitting one or two of the *pianissimo* markings). S is also correct, except that it ties the minims for solo violoncellos III, IV and V in bar 27 to those in bar 28. B & H, however, add a gratuitous *decrecendo* in all the solo violoncello parts in bar 27, thus completely killing the dramatic *pianissimo subito* intended by Rossini.

Again, in bar 30, A has no *crescendo* in solo violoncello I, but a clear characteristically written *diminuendo* on the minim C♯. T and R agree with A, but G and S have no dynamic marking whatever. B & H give to violoncello I a *crescendo* on the first beat of the bar, and a *diminuendo* on the minim C, which, in addition, receives a special accent mark! The faithful Eulenburg copies the errors in B & H.

And now we arrive at a really crucial point, the long shake on F♯ in solo violoncello I in bars 37-40. More than once I have heard the solo cellist begin correctly, with a whole-tone shake, but continue it throughout the four bars, regardless of the fact that the harmony of the third bar necessitates a change to a semitone shake, and that of the fourth a return to one of a whole tone. Rossini has made his intentions perfectly plain here, for although A has a mere trill mark over the F♯ in bars 37 and 38 (a whole-tone shake being of course in the key), that in bar 39 is preceded by a quaver G♯, with a line through it (indicating a semitone shake), and that in bar 40 is preceded by a similar quaver G♯, showing the return to the whole-tone shake.

T ignores all this, and so do R, G and the original impression of S; but the later impression of S prints a ♯ over the shake in bars 37-38, a ♯ over bar 39, but nothing over bar 40. B & H, original as ever, print in both score and parts a ♯ over the shake in bar 37, but no other mark in the remaining three bars.

This brings us to bars 41-42, where a serious error occurs in all printed editions and recordings that I have seen and heard. Not even the mighty Toscanini appears to have spotted this one! In bar 42 solo violoncello II, according to the printed scores and gramophone records, plays the notes *b e e e*. But it will be noticed that in the previous bar, based on the identical harmonic pattern, solo violoncello I plays *e' e' e' d♯'*. Why should Rossini have changed his harmonic structure in this fashion? The answer simply is that he did not, though the speed at which he must have dashed off his score of the overture caused him to omit to place the necessary ♯ before the D in bar 42, although he inserted it in bar 41. Unfortunately the engraver of T, not seeing a ♯, misread the D (it is quite clear in the manuscript) for an E, and E it remains. But

in order further to check this question I wrote to the Paris Conservatoire and asked that, if possible, the original orchestral parts should be consulted. I have before me a photograph of bar 42 of solo violoncello II of the earliest set of parts possessed by the Paris Opéra, which shows clearly that the copyist originally wrote an E as the final quaver of that bar, but that he, or someone else, scraped it out and replaced it by a D, prefacing it by a ♯, obviously in accordance with Rossini's intention.

We now come to the "Storm". A gives it the common time signature and designates it *allegro*, and both T and R follow A. G and S, although giving the correct time-signature and tempo indication, add the metronome mark *minim* = 108. B & H, however, uses the *alla breve* time-signature, together with the designation *allegro* and the metronome mark *minim* = 108. And, of course, so does Eulenburg.

The detached crotchets "off the beat" in piccolo, flute, oboes, clarinets and bassoons (beginning at bar 5) are, of course, always played *staccato*, although not so marked in modern scores. Because of the lack of *staccato* marks Stanford used to maintain that they should be given their full value as crotchets. But although usually right in such matters, he was wrong in this instance, for A shows the *staccato* dots plainly enough, though Rossini contented himself with indicating them at their first appearance only. Hence their omission in most printed scores.

Again, the tremolo chords on violins I and II and viola are marked *sotto voce* in A, T, R and S, but *pianissimo* by B & H in both score and parts.

The entry of the timpani in bar 31 is marked in A *pianissimo*. Unfortunately Rossini's manner of writing the two letters *pp* is exactly the way in which most musicians would write *ff*. T, accordingly, misread the score and boldly printed *ff* here; R apparently smelt a rat, but compromised by printing *fp*, though G never hesitated to reproduce the fatal *fortissimo*. To their credit B & H and S give the correct *pianissimo* indication.

In bar 42 Rossini, below every part in A, wrote the contraction *rinforz.* T reproduces this, but R gives nothing whatever except *ff* in piccolo and violoncello, while G prints *sf* (*sforzando*) in all parts, and so also do B & H and S. As this *sf* occurs in the timpani roll, as well as in the other parts, that is how the passage is usually played.

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second players take the upper E in unison while the third takes the lower one.<sup>3</sup>

From bar 69 onwards occurs a series of explosive passages on all the instruments, each of which should begin with a definite *sforzando*. For the first five bars Rossini religiously inserted them into every part, except that he wrote only the first one for the timpani. After this he omitted them until bar 77, where they reappear throughout the score. The printed editions usually insert them all, though now and then one or more has escaped the eagle eye of the proof-reader. But in bar 80 every instrument ought to be marked *sforzando*; some scores give the *sf* to the woodwind and brass but *ff* to the strings and kettledrums.

At bar 101 the detached crotchets are marked with dots in the first bar of the piccolo part only; elsewhere the dots are taken for granted. But at bar 108, where the double basses resume playing with the bow, the composer, in A, again treats us to *pp* written as if it were *ff*, and T prints it as *ff*. Fortunately later editions avoid this error.

Now comes the celebrated *ranz des vaches*, with its well-known cor anglais solo. In the printed scores, beginning with T, and followed by all the rest, this movement is styled *andante*, and T even gives it the metronome mark quaver = 76. Yet in A it is clearly marked *And<sup>mo</sup>*. In order to make certain of this I asked that the early orchestral parts in the Paris Opéra be consulted on the point, and was informed that in all of them the movement is marked *andantino*. S, however, misprints the metronome mark as dotted crotchet = 76!

Little need be said about the opening bars, except that the passages for horns in bars 11-15, carefully marked *solo* by Rossini in A, and not *solì* (a direction which was carefully followed by T, R and G, and to some extent by S), are printed in the B & H score as *a 2* (imitated in Eulenburg as *zu 2*), and in the parts they are given to both instruments of each pair (*i.e.* *solì* not *solo*). In A the composer, in error, originally wrote the first horn part of these five bars on the clarinet stave and the third horn part in the first horn stave, afterwards scraping the notes out and rewriting them in their correct places.

At bar 21, where the cor anglais settles down to business, his phrasing, according to A, is not quite what is usually printed and played to-day, though the differences are slight. But at bar 30 we have unmistakable evidence of an alteration from Rossini's original

<sup>3</sup> Proof that three are required is, of course, furnished by the solitary three-part chord, also written on a single stave, in bars 15-17 of the final movement of the overture.

conception, for, underlying the notes as we now know them is a second set which, had Rossini not altered them (doubtless in a flash) would have necessitated a change in the accompanying harmonies. These notes show that the cor anglais part, in bars 29-30, originally stood thus:  $f\sharp d f\sharp a c b g; f\sharp B d\sharp f\sharp a g e$ .

The most important point, however, in this movement, concerns bar 34, where in the autograph the last note is definitely B, and not A as so often maintained by conductors and players. The early cor anglais part preserved at the Opéra likewise displays a B.

All printed scores, with one exception, exhibit an A in this bar, the exception being the more recent impression of S. It would appear that when S was originally engraved the note A in bar 34 of this movement was taken over from the earlier editions of the work. But, subsequent to this, on the occasion of a re-issue of the score, the plate (page 28 of the edition) was altered, the A being deleted and B inserted in its place. As I have already pointed out, Toscanini alone has insisted on the B in his gramophone recording and, further, makes a *molto rit.* during the bar in order deliberately to attract attention to this very expressive passage.

I have said that the phrasing of the cor anglais solo as it appears in A differs slightly from that generally heard to-day, though so slightly as to be of little importance except in the last five bars of the movement. The first four of these are usually printed and played *legato*. But A shows us that the notes are intended to be detached (as they would be if executed on a real alphorn), and only in the last bar of all are they slurred together by the composer.

The final movement is styled *allegro vivace* in A, and in the printed scores the metronome mark crotchet = 152 has been added.

There are a number of minor points in this final movement to which attention might be drawn. Most of these illustrate occasional apparent inconsistencies in Rossini's writing, due, no doubt, to the fact that this "electric" movement ran away with his pen. For example, in the passage beginning in bar 50 violin I is marked *fp*, clarinets, first and second horns and trumpets *p*, bassoons *pp*, third and fourth horns *p* and the oboes are unmarked. Rossini repeats these identical markings (doubtless merely transcribing the passage) at bar 150.

Again in A in bars 70 and 75 all instruments, except violoncellos, double basses, triangle and bass drum and cymbals, which are marked *ff*, are directed to play *tutta forza*. Modern scores, of course, have rightly printed *tutta forza* in all parts.

The lonely-looking but vastly effective double-stop for viola on the second beat of bar 82 (and also at the repetition of the passage

in bar 126) occurs in A, and likewise in all printed scores. This is to their credit. But on the debit side must be placed the fact that in bar 90 the *sf* crotchet C# for violin I, which in A has below it a distinct *decrescendo* sign, followed by *pp* at the beginning of bar 91, is reproduced correctly only by T. R and G print an accent mark only, S gives nothing at all and B & H (score and parts) have both *sf* and an accent mark! Incidentally it may be mentioned here that the initial entry of the bassoons and horns in bar 96, and of the oboes and clarinets in bar 99, are marked in A *dol(ce)*, this being the only occasion on which Rossini has used this term in the work. In this connection I may say that in some of the printed scores the word makes its appearance, without authority, in several other places.

A curious question arises at this juncture. In bar 92 Rossini gives violin I the notes *a' g# e' c#*; but in bar 96, where the phrase is repeated, he writes *g# e' c# c#*.

One might perhaps have expected to find these two passages the other way round, though doubtless Rossini, having written them thus, allowed them to stay as they were. In any case the speed of the movement is so great that the slight differences between the passages would pass unnoticed by all but the very few.

In the *stringendo*, which begins in bar 174, Rossini takes the piccolo up to what must in 1829 have been unprecedented heights for the performer, who is actually expected to sound his topmost B four times—it is even to-day a very difficult note to produce—and that in rapid passage work. Most players dodge these notes, and in the general rumpus their shortcomings pass unnoticed, but Toscanini's anonymous artist hits them all with apparent ease. There is no question of Rossini's intention here, for, contrary to the usual practice, the piccolo part was written out in full in his score, and the flute part merely marked *col ott<sup>mo</sup>* (*ottavino*). Yet although Rossini does not spare the piccolo player at this point, where the power of the full orchestra gives him confidence, he shows him mercy in the more exposed passage in bars 223–228, where, though the piccolo plays in unison with the flute for the most part, the composer takes him down an octave for the three quavers of bar 226.

If, then, the printed scores of the popular 'William Tell' overture are in such a sorry state, what about the less well-known overtures by Rossini? My own experience shows me that, for the most part, they are just as bad, and, what is worse, since these works are frequently played to the people through the medium of cheap editions and arrangements, what is generally heard is not Rossini at all.

## ENGLISH TWO-PART VIOL MUSIC, 1590-1640

BY WILLIAM COATES

IN March, 1939, Lord Keynes gave to the Rowe Library, King's College, Cambridge, six volumes of manuscript music which were probably written in the 1630s. Four of these volumes contain viol music for three, four and five parts, almost all of which is known elsewhere. The other two volumes contain fourteen sets of three pieces by Coperario for violin, bass viol and organ; nine fantasias for two bass viols and organ by Coperario; and thirty-one pieces for two unaccompanied viols. This latter group, which will be discussed in this article, consists of:

- 6 Fantasias for treble and tenor viol by Coperario.
- 6 Fantasias for two treble viols by Orlando Gibbons.
- 1 Pavan for two bass viols by Jenkins.
- 3 Fantasias for two bass viols by Jenkins.
- 4 Fantasias for treble and bass viol by Micho.
- 6 Ayres for two bass viols by Ward.<sup>1</sup>
- 1 Fantasia for two treble viols (anonymous).
- 1 Fantasia for treble and bass viol (anonymous).
- 2 Fantasias for two bass viols by William Whyte.
- 1 Fantasia for two bass viols by Coleman.

Only the Ayres by Ward are known elsewhere.

Many of these pieces are of great musical interest, and all are of historical importance; for, with the exception of some short anonymous pieces, there has been a gap in our knowledge of two-part string works between those in Morley's 'A Plaine and Easie Introduction', and a few by Hume published in 1605; and the fantasias of East, Ives and Withy of the later 1630s.

Something must be said of the earlier examples of two-part writing before the works in the Rowe manuscript are discussed. The earliest English examples are the 'Duos, or songs for two voices' (1590) by Thomas Whythorne, which are meant to be sung or played; but only a few have a text underlaid, and these not accurately, so it seems that they were primarily for playing. Whythorne was not a composer of genius; there is a lack of character

<sup>1</sup> The pieces by Ward all have "Organ" written at the end, but since no organ parts have been found, and since in other (unnamed) copies of these works there is no mention of an organ, they are considered here as being for strings alone.

in his points of imitation, and little sustaining of a point once started. His rhythm is a steady  $3/4$  or  $4/4$ , and his imitation rarely lasts more than a bar.<sup>2</sup> He does not favour imitation at a close distance; and for only about 11 per cent of the time is strict imitation going on.<sup>3</sup> There are a few unvocal passages, but the pieces are pleasantly dull "players' music".

In 1595 Thomas Morley produced his nine fantasias for two viols; and in 1597 appeared his 'Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practical Music', in which are included six duets for instruments. Here both the thematic material and rhythm are better defined than in Whythorne. Morley has longer stretches of strict imitation, lasting for about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  bars in the 1597 set, rather less in the 1595 set. For about 21 per cent of the time his parts are in strict imitation, which is very "tight", for he prefers a crotchet's distance, and over twenty times imitation occurs at a quaver's distance. There is sometimes a display of augmentation, diminution and inversion. The pieces are never unvocal in style, though some of the canonic work is so "tight" and brisk as to imply the use of instruments. Nine of these fifteen pieces are in canzonet form. In all these pieces Morley produces a cumulative effect.

There are three pieces for two viols in Tobias Hume's publication of 1605. These are obviously influenced by his much more numerous writings for the lyra viol, there being little or no counterpoint; the style is dancelike, with some ornamentation. They are, in this, comparable with the Jenkins pieces discussed later in this article.

The oldest of the composers represented in the Rowe manuscript is probably Giovanni Coperario (c. 1570-1627). No other two-part pieces of his are known. Coperario makes much greater use of strict imitation than does Morley. He rarely uses it for less than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  bars, usually for  $2-2\frac{1}{2}$ , and not seldom there is a young canon for 3, 4 or 5 bars; in one fantasia there is even a canonic stretch of  $8\frac{1}{2}$  bars; and for no less than 45 per cent of the time there is strict imitation of a bar or more. On the other hand, he favours rather less "tight" imitation than Morley, preferring the second voice to come in after a minim. He sometimes gives a new twist to an imitation by changing the time-distance but keeping up the canon. Coperario is the first English composer of two-part string music that we know of to use definitely instrumental phrases, such as a voice would find difficult to sing. See, for instance, Example 1 at the end of this article. Two of the subjects with which he opens a

<sup>2</sup> Note-values have been halved throughout the following discussion.

<sup>3</sup> In this article strict imitation includes only that which goes on for six quavers or more.

piece are divided into two sections, like many a later fugue subject; for instance my Example 2. There is in Coperario greater dramatic contrast between sections than in Morley. He seems especially to like to sober up after an exhilarating passage by following with one in sustained notes; and he sometimes makes dramatic use of episode.

Pride of place must be given to the six fantasias for two treble viols by Orlando Gibbons; they are the only extant works by him in this medium, and are the most considerable find in the Rowe manuscript. These sparkling pieces are Gibbons at his most gay and sophisticated. Example 3 gives the opening of the first one. The rhythmic vitality is maintained throughout all the pieces. The scintillation is achieved partly by the use of suspensions, which are rarely used by Coperario. There is little or no contrast between sections—all is a headlong dash in which one is exposed to the lightest flick of his genius. Sometimes tension is accumulated by means of an episode. Gibbons's distance of imitation is a crotchet or a minim, used equally freely; in this he is rather less tight than Morley, and rather more so than Coperario. He uses with wonderful variety a short imitation of a bar or so, an average one of  $2-2\frac{1}{2}$  bars, longer ones of 3 or 4 bars, and one of  $8\frac{1}{2}$  bars. In this he is very like Coperario, as he also is in the proportion of time in which imitation is going on—46 per cent. Gibbons's writing is at times extraordinarily instrumental (see, for instance, Example 4). He is more stimulating than Coperario, who is a more contemplative composer. The lasting impression of Gibbons's pieces is one of whirling brilliance, in which are fused imitation and syncopation, fine part-writing and rhythmic vitality.

Probably the next composer, chronologically, to be represented in this manuscript is Richard Micho. The whole atmosphere of his music is much darker and more introspective than that of Gibbons. His four fantasias are very fine of their kind; they all proceed from a very slow start to quick running passages (sometimes on one instrument, while the other plays sustained notes). Thus the feeling is a cumulative one, as in Morley. But how different in effect! Micho uses strict imitation as much as Morley (23 per cent of the time). While at the start it is at a distance of 1 or  $1\frac{1}{2}$  bars, all imitation in the latter half of his piece is very tight. But imitation is no longer the driving force; it is a device used equally with that of virtuoso passages in either or both instruments, and it sometimes reminds one of a later period. Examples 5 and 6 show the emotional rang of Micho, a composer who deserves to be better known than he is at present.

William Whyte was probably a contemporary of Micho's. But

he uses very little strict imitation, and relies on some similarity between the two parts making a sort of passage-work which has a cumulative effect. The composer stresses the continuity of his pieces by having no clear-cut sections; the tension is increased towards the end by the use of repeated figures in sequence.

There are four extraordinary compositions by John Jenkins. If this manuscript was indeed written before 1640, they must be fairly early works of his. The first is entitled Pavan; the other three, respectively of 2, 4 and 4 sections, and called Fantasias, are yet very near to the Pavan in feeling. These pieces are capable of being well played only by virtuosi. There is very little imitation, and the actual sound of the instruments has a much more important part in the conception of the whole. There is a passion, a dignity, a kind of studied élan, about these pieces which is wonderfully rich (see Example 7).

The pieces by John Ward are reminiscent in mood of the pieces by Jenkins, but are more lightweight. There is scarcely any imitation, and little intensity; but there is a good writing for the bass viols, and a pleasing elegiac quality which occasionally reaches greater profundity. Of the two anonymous fantasias, the first is in the style of the Morley period, and the second in that of the Coleman period. Neither is musically significant. Lastly, there is a fantasy for two bass viols by Charles Coleman (d. 1664). Here the tendency away from imitation (save for an echo effect) and towards passage-work has so grown that it is obviously the work of a period of a different outlook. It must have been composed just before the manuscript was written, and is a kind of bridge between Micho and Matthew Locke.

Later two-part viol music is to be found in sources other than the Rowe manuscript. The work in this medium by Michael East comes from his Seventh Set of Books, printed in 1638. These pieces for two bass viols have little imitation, but well-marked sections. They make use of repeated figures, like Whyte's fantasias; what imitation there is goes one stage farther than Whyte towards the echo effect so common later in the century. Whyte has an intensity, however, to which East never attains.

Of the work of John Withy there are extant twenty-two pieces for two bass viols. These make little use of imitation and are not of very great musical interest, though they are always well turned and there are many original touches. This also applies to the nine fantasias for two bass viols by Simon Ives, which by their style appear to have been written rather later than those of Withy. We also have one long fantasia for two bass viols by Thomas Ford.

This almost struggles into greatness, but its prolixity eventually defeats it. It makes little use of imitation.

In the British Museum Additional M.S. 31424 (Nos. 10 and 11) there are two most interesting anonymous pieces for two bass viols, which are probably of the Morley period, though almost certainly not by him. Imitation is employed for 23 per cent of the time. Bodleian M.S. d 245/6 contains sets of three, thirteen, four and six anonymous pieces for two bass viols; none of these is of great stature. The set of four is notable in that three of the pieces are in canon almost throughout; this does not, however, seem to add to their musical interest.

When this field is reviewed as a whole two very different styles are seen. In the pieces by Hume, Jenkins and Ford the emphasis is on the sonority of the bass viols. In the great majority of the others, the emphasis is on the counterpoint, and here a point of great interest emerges: the best music is that which employs the greatest amount of imitation successfully. The very life-blood of these works seems to be the varied use of imitation—and usually strict imitation at that. In fact, some of the pieces by Coperario and Gibbons could be described as a number of short canons strung together. Yet the music is so alive that there is no hint of pedantry. Apart from this intuitive yet highly skilled use of imitation, there seems to be little "form". Morley uses his beloved canzonet form more often than not, but otherwise there seems to be very little reference to themes used previously. In Coperario and Gibbons the music seems just to grow naturally; while in Micho and Whyte the only "form" is that of following each section by one of greater detail at the same speed, often abruptly, and thus producing a cumulative effect.

In fact it may be said that the famous recipe for a fantasia given by Morley in the 'Plaine and Easie Introduction' is the best general description of the pieces in the Rowe manuscript—which adds many golden pages to the "age of plenty" of English chamber music.

#### APPENDIX A

The table on p. 147 has a strict statistical basis; and may, apart from the interest of its information, be of use in naming the composers of anonymous pieces found in future. The pieces by Lassus (1573) and Galilei (1584) are inserted for the sake of comparison.

Column A is the percentage of time in which strict imitation is used, and is a setting forth in tabular form of the results already stated in the article. Composers who use imitation for less than 10 per cent of the time are not included. There are two well-defined groups. Lassus, Coperario and Gibbons all use from 45-47 per cent; while Morley, Micho, Add. 31424, and the set of thirteen from the Bodleian all use from

19-23 per cent. The 68 per cent of the set of four from the Bodleian is due to the fact that three of the pieces are almost complete canons.

Column B shows how "tight" or "loose" the composers were in their use of strict imitation. Thus, the figures for Whythorne mean that in 16 per cent of the starts of his points of imitation the second voice comes in after 2 quavers, in 36 per cent after 4 quavers and in 36 per cent after 8 quavers. In these columns figures of 5 per cent or under are neglected. Micho and Add. 31424 have by far the greatest amount of tight imitation—44 and 39 per cent respectively at a distance of 1 quaver; the next being Morley 'Plaine and Easie' with 22 per cent. Morley 95 has much the greatest proportion of imitation at 2 quavers—54 per cent, while Lassus has 33 per cent, and Morley P & E and Coperario both have 31 per cent. Coperario, with 40 per cent, especially enjoys imitation after 4 quavers, but Whythorne equally at 4 and 8 quavers, with 36 per cent each. This latter figure is to be compared with the 8 per cent of Coperario at one end and with the Bodleian set of four, where almost all the imitation is at 8 quavers.

Column C shows the intervals at which imitation occurs; this is graded accordance to the difference in pitch in the various pieces between the two parts. Thus, in the case of Whythorne, pieces where the two parts are of roughly the same range have 17 per cent of their imitative entries at the 4th, 50 per cent at the 5th and 33 per cent at the octave. The splitting up of this analysis into three sometimes means that there are too few examples for the figure to be conclusive; but the invariable use of imitation at the 12th by Micho is remarkable, even though in all his pieces the two parts are an octave apart. The canonic set of four from the Bodleian have almost all their imitation at the unison.

#### APPENDIX B

The table on p. 148 deals with the tonics and key-signatures, the ranges, and the proportion of step to leap in the opening phrases of the pieces considered.

Column A gives the Tonics of the various pieces followed by key-signatures (if any), and whether any accidentals are so common as virtually to alter the key-signature. It is interesting that D is the favourite tonic since it is still thought of as being the string-player's "home key". The Dorian mode was evidently still in common use.

Column B gives the average range and the maximum range of the groups of pieces. Both average and maximum ranges tend to expand chronologically. The "sonority" school (Hume, Jenkins, Ward) has the greatest range, apart from the single examples by Ford and Coleman.

Column C, which refers to the opening phrases alone, attempts to show in what proportions the various composers use step, leap, repeated notes etc. Morley 95 is very near to the average of all the composers; this confirms Morley's position as the "central" composer of his time in England. Hume uses far more repeated notes (19 per cent) than others; Gibbons, owing to a greater preference for leaps than anyone else, has a smaller percentage of step-movement. Withy and Ward also have comparatively little step movement because they are more keen than others on octave leaps—8 and 9 per cent respectively. At the other extreme Coleman's piece opens with 18 steps out of 20 successive notes.

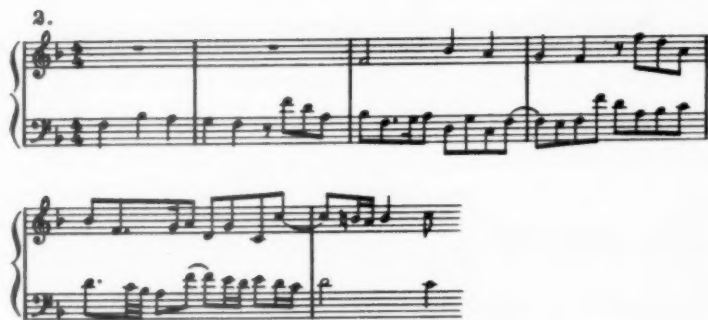
APPENDIX A  
 TABLE SHOWING USAGE OF IMITATION

| Columns—                   | A        |               | B              |  | C                                    |   |                                      |            |  |   |
|----------------------------|----------|---------------|----------------|--|--------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|------------|--|---|
|                            | Composer | No. of pieces | % of time used | Distance before second voice enters (in quavers at 1 in 2) | INTERVALS OF IMITATION PREFERRED     |   |                                      |            |  |   |
|                            |          |               |                |  | When the parts are equal—a 3rd apart |   | When the parts are a 4th—a 6th apart |            | When the parts are a 7th or more apart |   |
|                            |          |               |                |  | 1                                    | 2 | 3                                    | 4          | 5                                      | 6 |
| Lassus ..                  | ..       | 12            | 47             | 14 33 24 — 27 2  | 16 — 33 26                           | — | —                                    | —          | 28 41                                  | — |
| Whythorne ..               | ..       | 6             | 11             | — 16 36 — 36 —   | — 17 50 33                           | — | 15 — 38 32                           | —          | 100 (1 entry)                          | — |
| Morley 95 ..               | ..       | 9             | 22             | 10 54 27 — — —   | 27 11 54 —                           | — | — 12 42 46                           | 16 76      | —                                      | — |
| “Plaine and Easie” ..      | ..       | 6             | 19             | 22 31 28 — 13 —  | 44 33 22 —                           | — | — 64 36                              | — 34 22 12 | —                                      | — |
| Coperario ..               | ..       | 6             | 45½            | — 31 40 — 8 —  | — — — —                              | — | — 76 18                              | 17 83      | —                                      | — |
| Gibbons ..                 | ..       | 6             | 46             | 9 24 23 — 18 9   | 67 — 18 —                            | — | — — —                                | — — —      | —                                      | — |
| Micho ..                   | ..       | 4             | 23             | 44 14 14 — — 14  | — — — —                              | — | — — —                                | — — —      | 100                                    | — |
| British Mus. Add. 31424 .. | ..       | 2             | 23             | 39 11 22 11 11 6   | 59 — 50 —                            | — | — — —                                | — — —      | —                                      | — |
| Bodl. Set of d245/6 ..     | ..       | 13            | 22             | — — 35 — 57 —  | 61 — 21 18                           | — | — — 33 67                            | — — —      | —                                      | — |
| Set of ..                  | ..       | 4             | 68             | — — — — c.95 —   | c.95 — — —                           | — | — — —                                | — — —      | —                                      | — |

## APPENDIX B

| Columns—<br><br>COMPOSER   | NUMBER<br>OF<br>PIECES | A<br>TONIC AND KEY-SIGNATURE<br>(e.g. A $\flat$ means that the tonic is A, and the key-<br>signature is one $\flat$ ) |           |   |           |   |           |   |   |           |   |           |         | B<br>RANGE   |      | C<br>PERCENTAGE OF STEPS AND LEAPS<br>in the opening phrases.<br>Re-Step 3rd 4th 5th and 6th 7th 8th 9th<br>peat |    |    |    |    |   |                 |    |    |    |   |  |
|----------------------------|------------------------|---|-----------|---|-----------|---|-----------|---|---|-----------|---|-----------|---------|--------------|------|--|----|----|----|----|---|-----------------|----|----|----|---|--|
|                            |                        | A   | A $\flat$ | C | C $\flat$ | D | D $\flat$ | E | F | F $\flat$ | G | G $\flat$ | Average | Maxi-<br>mum | 2    | 3  | 4  | 5  | 6  | 7  | 8 | 9               | 10 | 11 | 12 |   |  |
|                            |                        |   |           |   |           |   |           |   |   |           |   |           |         |              |      |  |    |    |    |    |   |                 |    |    |    |   |  |
| Lassus ..                  | 12                     | —   | —         | — | —         | — | —         | — | 1 | 1         | — | 4         | 4       | 10th         | 12th | 2  | 73 | 14 | 6  | 4  | — | —               | —  | —  | —  | — |  |
| Galilei ..                 | 12                     | —   | —         | — | —         | — | —         | — | 3 | 1         | 1 | 1         | 2       | 11th         | 12th | 3  | 75 | 14 | 4  | 3  | — | —               | —  | —  | —  | — |  |
| Whythorne ..               | 6                      | —   | —         | — | —         | — | —         | — | 1 | —         | 3 | —         | —       | 10th         | 11th | 4  | 70 | 17 | 5  | 3  | — | —               | —  | —  | —  | — |  |
| Morley 95 ..               | 9                      | —   | —         | — | —         | — | —         | — | — | —         | — | —         | 4       | 11th         | 14th | 3  | 70 | 12 | 7  | 4  | — | —               | —  | —  | —  |   |  |
| Morley Plainc and Easie .. | 6                      | 1   | —         | — | —         | — | —         | — | — | —         | 3 | 1         | 1       | 11th         | 12th | 8  | 76 | 8  | 4  | 1  | 1 | 2               | —  | —  | —  |   |  |
| Hume ..                    | 3                      | —   | —         | — | —         | — | —         | — | — | —         | — | —         | —       | 20th         | 22nd | 19   | 64 | 10 | 2  | 3  | — | —               | —  | —  | —  |   |  |
| Coperario ..               | 6                      | —   | —         | — | —         | — | —         | — | — | —         | — | —         | —       | 12th         | 13th | 2  | 64 | 17 | 14 | 2  | — | —               | —  | —  | —  |   |  |
| Gibbons ..                 | 6                      | —   | —         | — | —         | — | —         | — | — | —         | — | —         | —       | 14th         | 16th | 1  | 51 | 22 | 10 | 10 | 6 | —               | —  | —  | —  |   |  |
| Micho ..                   | 4                      | —   | —         | — | —         | — | —         | — | — | —         | — | —         | —       | 15th         | 19th | 3  | 83 | 6  | 2  | 2  | 2 | 1               | 1  | —  | —  |   |  |
| Whyte ..                   | 2                      | —   | —         | — | —         | — | —         | — | — | —         | — | —         | —       | 15th         | 18th | —  | 80 | 9  | 6  | 3  | — | —               | —  | —  | —  |   |  |
| Jenkins ..                 | 4                      | 2   | —         | — | —         | — | —         | — | — | —         | — | —         | —       | 20th         | 23rd | 2  | 72 | 7  | 8  | 4  | 1 | 5               | 1  | —  | —  |   |  |
| Ward ..                    | 6                      | 2   | —         | — | —         | — | —         | — | — | —         | — | —         | —       | 20th         | 21st | 2  | 63 | 10 | 9  | 4  | 1 | 9               | 2  | —  | —  |   |  |
| Rowe Library 15 ..         | 1                      | —   | —         | — | —         | — | —         | — | — | —         | — | —         | —       | 13th         | 13th | 7  | 82 | 7  | —  | 4  | — | —               | —  | —  | —  |   |  |
| Rowe Library 35 ..         | 1                      | —   | —         | — | —         | — | —         | — | — | —         | — | —         | —       | 15th         | 17th | 4  | 82 | 11 | 2  | —  | — | —               | —  | —  | —  |   |  |
| Coleman ..                 | 1                      | —   | —         | — | —         | — | —         | — | — | —         | — | —         | —       | 20th         | 22nd | 5  | 90 | —  | —  | —  | — | —               | —  | —  | —  |   |  |
| East ..                    | 8                      | —   | —         | — | —         | — | —         | — | — | —         | — | —         | —       | 17th         | 17th | 4  | 61 | 11 | 11 | 6  | 3 | 8               | 1  | —  | —  |   |  |
| Withy ..                   | 12                     | —   | —         | — | —         | — | —         | — | — | —         | — | —         | —       | 17th         | 20th | 3  | 55 | 14 | 12 | 5  | 1 | 8               | 2  | —  | —  |   |  |
| Ives ..                    | 9                      | —   | —         | — | —         | — | —         | — | — | —         | — | —         | —       | 18th         | 20th | 3  | 64 | 10 | 7  | 5  | 4 | 5               | 2  | —  | —  |   |  |
| Ford ..                    | 1                      | —   | —         | — | —         | — | —         | — | — | —         | — | —         | —       | 21st         | 21st | —  | 73 | 11 | 11 | 5  | — | —               | —  | —  | —  |   |  |
| British Mus. Add. 31424 .. | 2                      | —   | —         | — | —         | — | —         | — | — | —         | — | —         | —       | 15th         | 15th | —  | 64 | 15 | 3  | 9  | — | —               | —  | —  | —  |   |  |
| Bodl. Set of ..            | 3                      | —   | —         | — | —         | — | —         | — | — | —         | — | —         | —       | 15th         | 22nd | 4  | 72 | 8  | 8  | 6  | — | —               | —  | —  | —  |   |  |
| Bodl. Set of ..            | 13                     | —   | —         | — | —         | — | —         | — | — | —         | — | —         | —       | 13th         | 18th | 5  | 61 | 18 | 10 | 5  | — | —               | —  | —  | —  |   |  |
| Bodl. Set of ..            | 4                      | —   | —         | — | —         | — | —         | — | — | —         | — | —         | —       | 13th         | 14th | 5  | 75 | 8  | 9  | 6  | — | —               | —  | —  | —  |   |  |
| Bodl. Set of ..            | 6                      | —   | 1         | 1 | —         | — | —         | — | — | —         | — | —         | —       | 13th         | 15th | 5  | 81 | 9  | 4  | —  | — | —               | —  | —  | —  |   |  |
|                            |                        |   |           |   |           |   |           |   |   |           |   |           |         | Average      |      | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 70 | 11 | 7  | 4  | 1 | 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 1  | —  | —  |   |  |

1 F $\sharp$  common.2 F $\sharp$  and C $\sharp$  common.3 B $\flat$  common.4 Key-signature is two flats, but A $\flat$  is also common.



5.



6.



7.



## EARLY SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY KEYBOARD PARTS

BY CECILY ARNOLD

A CURIOUS phenomenon in the development of musical forms is the short and limited production of fully worked-out and quite independent keyboard parts to string ensembles occurring, as far as can be estimated, between about 1610 and 1660, and then ceasing abruptly.

It can be assumed that the organ, harpsichord or virginal was frequently used with voices and strings in consort from the later sixteenth to the end of the seventeenth century. Anthony à Wood, Roger North and Thomas Mace all bear clear witness to this; and the many keyboard manuscripts containing vocal and instrumental works in close score (or sometimes in skeleton score, with the entries of each part reinforced and the rest of the texture only sketched in) show its practical application. More time spent in comparing keyboard works with string fantasies might produce further evidence.

This habit established, it is understandable that the idea of writing an independent keyboard part to his string works should occur to at least one composer. John Coperario appears to have been the first in the field. It may have been suggested to him by the use of the thorough-bass he would have met in Italy; or there may exist such parts in that country. Whatever inspired them, his two sets of Fantasy-Suites (a fantasy and two dances), sixteen for "one treble and bass" and eight for "two trebles and bass", must have been a new notion in Court music. The separate keyboard parts are completely independent, with many bars in which the strings are silent, and in the suites for one treble the right hand rarely doubles the upper string. Those for two trebles are less original, for, apart from solo bars initiating a theme, or filling in a rest, the string parts are reproduced throughout, often an octave higher or lower, but with little additional material, and only occasional amplification of harmony. His other contribution to this form is a set of fourteen Fantasies for two bass viols with the organ. Here the string parts are more florid and decorative than in the usual viol fantasies, and the organ part sustains and fills out the harmonies, while they provide the movement.

It is not surprising that Coperario's young pupil William Lawes

seized on the new idea. He also applied it only to the Fantasy-Suite, and he wrote eight for one treble and bass and eight for two trebles and bass; but his organ bass does not so frequently double his string bass, and his keyboard writing is much more adventurous in compass, movement and length of solo passages. The suites vary from comparatively straightforward writings to complicated works with scale and arpeggio passages for the strings covering two-and-a-half octaves sweeping up and down in quavers and semi-quavers, with wide leaps and jagged intervals in all parts, strong and varied rhythmic interest, and fully written-out trills. One suite in particular (from those for one treble and bass) is outstanding. Lawes may have felt this himself, for it is copied into an autograph manuscript book which contains a variety of interesting instrumental ensembles (including, incidentally, some with harp parts, arguing a partly chromatic harp of four to four-and-a-half octaves compass) and various sketches for masques and ceremonial music. This keyboard part is quite as complicated as the string parts, and is completely independent. It is exciting to play, and has proved very much to the taste of present-day audiences.

These suites should be more widely known. Nothing like them was written again till the early eighteenth century, when the "sonatas for harpsichord with accompaniment for violin" appear. Why did this bold and striking use of the keyboard fade after Lawes? John Jenkins, his contemporary, who lived much longer, produced two similar sets of Fantasy-Suites for the same combination of instruments—seventeen for one treble and bass, and ten for two trebles and bass—but his keyboard parts are like those of Coperario, frequently doubling the string parts, and restricted in range and movement as compared with those of Lawes, and indeed, as compared with his own later sonatas and arias for violin with figured bass. There are also organ parts to many of Jenkins's viol fantasies, some skeleton scores, some in two- or three-part writing with comparatively independent parts, but no solo keyboard passages. John Birchensha's four Fantasy-Suites for treble and bass to the organ have interesting keyboard parts, but he does not explore further than Coperario has done into the possibilities of keyboard accompaniment.

A few works by Christopher Gibbons have opening bars of solo keyboard written out in the score, and chords amplified where the strings are sparse, but otherwise a basso-continuo left to the player. Richard Micho has an organ part to his Fantasies for treble and two basses in which the string writing is very florid and decorative and the keyboard chordal and sustained, like the

Fantasies for two basses and organ of Coperario mentioned earlier. An anonymous sonata in Durham Cathedral Library has a completely worked-out keyboard part which is fairly independent, but not very interesting.

All these can be placed before 1660, but neither they nor Coperario are to be compared with Lawes in this particular medium—and Lawes was killed in 1645! The limited number of such works produced, their similarity of form (nearly all Fantasy-Suites) and the fact that so few composers attempted them, might lead one to imagine that this use of the keyboard proved less popular than the more elastic and flexible basso-continuo or figured bass. Or was it that Lawes's work, in particular, being for a small Court circle, and often, one suspects, for individual players, was overlooked after his early death and the upheaval of the Protectorate? Did Jenkins and Birchensha write their suites about the same time as a contribution to a current musical fashion which soon became out-moded? It is strange that neither they, nor Locke, nor Purcell should have experimented further with the possibilities of so interesting a form; and one is driven to wonder whether this brief efflorescence was but one more sad instance of high hopes for English music dying all too soon.

#### COMFORT MAY COME FROM STARS

COMFORT may come from stars. I could not sleep,  
 And walked outside, because the house had come  
 To be but a projection of myself,  
 The self I loathed. I looked up to the stars,  
 Millions on millions of them rolled above  
 The shadowy fields where lay the liquid night.  
 A light East wind had cleared the mists, and I  
 Was facing closer to the eternal frame  
 Than ever I remembered. There they burnt  
 In clusters, pyramids, tiaras, shapes  
 Symmetrical, while all along the sky  
 Swept the thick cloud of the star-dusted Way,  
 In milky folds, as if the Jeweller  
 Had cast upon his counter a fine cloth  
 Of lawn for background to his wares. I heard  
 The clock strike one, three fields away, and marked  
 The chattering lights above. And then, it seemed,  
 A shout of laughter pealed from that vast throng  
 That ever man should even trouble to come  
 And stand before the altar of the stars—  
 So I was comforted and went to bed. T. ST. QUINTIN HILL.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Letters of Richard Wagner: The Burrell Collection.* Edited with notes by John N. Burk. pp. 665. (London: Victor Gollancz. 1951. 42s.)

In the years following Wagner's death Mary Burrell, daughter of Sir John Banks, occupied herself with the collection of material for a monumental biography of the composer. She had enthusiasm, money, leisure and a flair for research. In 1890 she discovered Natalie Bilz-Planer, the supposed sister, actually the illegitimate daughter of Minna, Wagner's first wife, living wretchedly in a poor-house at Leipzig in Saxony. Winning her confidence, Mrs. Burrell gradually acquired from Natalie the mass of letters, manuscripts and other documents she had inherited from Minna, including the early love-letters which Natalie had allowed Wagner himself to believe destroyed. In addition, Mrs. Burrell discovered that Bonfantini, who between 1870 and 1875 printed 'Mein Leben' at Basel, in an edition supposedly limited to eighteen copies, had secretly prepared a nineteenth copy for himself. This extra copy was purchased by Mrs. Burrell from Bonfantini's widow, and it supplied her with a vast amount of information at that time otherwise unavailable and suggested numerous fresh lines of research.

Unhappily Mrs. Burrell died in 1898, when she had carried her biography only to Wagner's twenty-first year. The fragment was published by her husband, as a sort of memorial, in a limited edition of magnificently unpractical format. It is a bibliographical curiosity of the first order—129 pages, elephant folio, on hand-made paper, each page watermarked with a facsimile of Wagner's signature, profusely illustrated, with all the documents in the original German, bound in white half-vellum and weighing 37½ pounds. If Mrs. Burrell had lived to finish her life of Wagner and publish it in this style the complete work would have turned the scale at almost a quarter of a ton. After this the immensely valuable material of the Burrell Collection, most of it completely unknown to Wagner's biographers, official and unofficial, remained inaccessible for many years. After the death of Mrs. Burrell's daughter it was deposited in a bank, according to Julius Kapp "chiefly in clothes-baskets and boxes"; nobody bothered any more about it and part of the collection was lost. Then in 1929 a catalogue was prepared and published, with brief summaries of the contents of the documents. Limited access to the collection was obtained by two American journalists, P. D. Hurn and W. L. Root, authors of 'The Truth about Wagner', a book that drew a devastating reply, 'Fact and Fiction about Wagner', from Ernest Newman. In 1931 the Burrell Collection was purchased by an American lady, Mary Louise Curtis Bok (now Mrs. Efrem Zimbalist), who later presented it to the Curtis Institute of Music, which she founded, at Philadelphia. Now at last practically the whole of this material becomes generally available, in translation, edited by John N. Burk, who has spent many years in sifting and evaluating it.

It can be said at once that there is no need to burn all the existing *Lives of Wagner*. The documents from the Burrell Collection contain no sensational new revelations. They correct some minor errors, confirm much that has been conjectured from other sources and, above all, amplify the material available concerning certain crucial episodes—the courtship of Minna and the early marriage troubles, the flight from Dresden in 1849, the Jessie Laussot entanglement and the Wesendonck crisis on the Green Hill and its sequel. It cannot be doubted that Mr. Newman, for the earlier part of his great *Life*, would have preferred to utilize the present documents rather than rely, as he had to do at times, on the brief and sometimes misleading summaries of the Burrell Catalogue. It is to be hoped that when the first two of Mr. Newman's volumes, which have been out of print for so long, become again available, we shall find that he has been able to incorporate some of this material. Mr. Burk acknowledges Mr. Newman's assistance in clarifying some dubious points.

Can Wagner be described as a great letter-writer? He certainly wrote far more, and far longer letters than any other great composer. When he really wanted something, and turned on the flood of his eloquence to obtain it, he was irresistible. His love-letters from Magdeburg to Minna in Berlin, in November 1835, and even more so those from Berlin to Minna at Königsberg, in May and June 1836, are amazing. Every day he committed to paper thousands of words, and even though Minna often had to pay postage due on the thick packets which reached her, she was overwhelmed. These letters are sometimes very moving:

I remember one evening, Minna my soul, at Rudolstadt I had missed you when the play was over; it was already dark; I had gone all the way back to your house without having found you. Believing you would still come, I sat on the stone bench in front of the house—I *had* to see you again and to speak to you, for you had just been harsh with me. The sky was black and clouded, not a star was to be seen; I stared into the dark night, my eyes filled with tears. Then already I felt so lonely and abandoned without you. I started at every footstep. Is it she? I sat for a long while like this; it grew darker and colder; my whole body became numb from the cold stone on which I sat; it had become very late. Certainly you had come home earlier; you were already in bed. I couldn't even see your room, only a cold wall stared at me. O Minna, I now feel as if I were still sitting on that bench, in the dark gloomy night, crying, unable to see you.

Experience was to teach this unfortunate woman, dragged behind Wagner's chariot, that real life seldom bore much resemblance to the rosy visions of the future depicted in his letters. His powers of rationalization were astonishing. It is inconceivable how he could have believed that he could retain his position as Kapellmeister at Dresden after his activities during the revolution. And when "the long-nurtured hatred of many worthless people, the outward circumstances and the mean, vengeful feelings of the reactionaries" combined to produce a warrant for his arrest—why, then that was the best possible thing that could have happened! He had a scheme for spending the whole rest of his life, with Minna and her parents and sisters, in a pleasant country house on one of the estates of the Grand Duchess of Weimar. When that dream faded and he had to flee to Switzerland he wrote optimistically of a new plan for conquering Paris, and felt "almost grateful" to the fate that was driving him anew into the great arena. Soon afterwards he was coaxing Minna, in letters full of affection, to join him in Switzerland, where every prospect was pleasing.

Among the most valuable new contributions to our knowledge of Wagner are some letters, or drafts of letters, from Minna herself. Justice has never been done this much-tried woman. It is right that she should be allowed to speak for herself. Very often she told Wagner what he found most unpalatable—the truth about himself, in downright terms. If she could not accompany him on the higher flights of his imagination she understood him very well indeed on the lower levels; and she loved him profoundly, and greatly admired his genius. Various fresh falsifications or colorations of facts are revealed in ‘Mein Leben’ and elsewhere by the letters in the Burrell Collection. Mr. Burk does not make clear that Wagner’s letter to Minna of May 17th, 1850, in that part of the correspondence previously published, was evidently only a postscript to the long and extraordinary piece of rationalization of the 16th, now published for the first time. He was on the point of departing, as he thought, with Jessie Laussot for a tour of Greece and Asia Minor, on money provided by Jessie’s mother. So, without of course mentioning Jessie, he had to explain to himself and Minna that they had never really been suited to each other and would have to separate. His statement, in a letter to Uhlig of the previous day, that his wife had written to him of *her* resolve to separate from *him*, was certainly a lie. In ‘Mein Leben’ he wrote that he ended his letter to Minna “without bidding her a final farewell”. Readers may judge of this for themselves:

Farewell! Farewell! For two weeks I have wept a thousand bitter tears over this distressing separation! But it must be! Every hesitation would be fatal weakness! Fatal for you and me! Farewell! Farewell! My good Minna! Farewell! Think only of the happiest hours we spent together; then you will be happy in remembering me, just as I shall think of you only with nostalgia and love after this separation! Farewell! Farewell!

The Burrell Collection supplies also Minna’s reply, after her fruitless journey to Paris to see him. She told him that he was lying to himself to gloss over his abominable treatment of her, that he had talked himself into believing things that had never existed between them and that she had never heard a single word from him until this time, when they had been married fourteen years, about the fact that they did not suit each other. She also referred him to his own previous letters, including one of only four weeks earlier, in which he had declared that he knew of no greater happiness than to live with her peacefully and undisturbed.

The bottom having fallen out of his scheme for a trip to Greece and the East, within a few weeks and, as Mr. Burk says, “with his usual air of having done the only thing that a reasonable man could do in the circumstances”, he was ready to explain everything and return to his wife. Minna provided this letter with a running commentary.

Among other things we are here given the complete text of the famous letter to Mathilde Wesendonck of April 7th, 1858, the interception of which by Minna brought about the catastrophe on the Green Hill. Mr. Burk goes too far in describing the hitherto unpublished middle paragraph, elucidating Wagner’s attitude towards Goethe’s ‘Faust’, as “the main purpose and content of the letter”. Others besides Hurn and Root, and Julius Kapp, will consider that Minna had considerable excuse for acting as she did. The soothing and consoling letters that Wagner wrote from Venice to Minna in the succeeding months are most touching. He asked Natalie to order a night-lamp and a clock, with the

words, "Er ist doch ein guter Mann", engraved round the dial: "That will give the poor woman pleasure when she cannot sleep at night." But it was just as well that Minna did not see what he was writing, at this same time, to Mathilde Wesendonck in his diary.

The Burrell Collection includes Wagner's letters to his artist friend of the worst Paris days, E. B. Kietz; to Tichatschek; to Bonfantini; to his agents Voltz and Batz; and many other interesting things. But, in general, this is Minna's book.

Although Mr. Burk's elaborate commentary is admirable, his method of presentation of the letters is open to criticism. He has chosen to divide them into groups, each circling round some biographical episode, or Wagnerian characteristic. The result is only broadly chronological. In order to read the documents in their true sequence it is necessary to consult the 160-page *catalogue raisonné* which forms Appendix A, where numerous letters are printed for which no place has been found in the episodic arrangement of the main text. One can see that there were great difficulties, in any case. Mr. Burk's problem was to make a readable book out of a collection of two or three series of letters and a mass of miscellaneous ones; but to be fully understood even the principal series still needs to be integrated with the Wagner-Minna correspondence already published. It is to be feared that only the Wagnerian expert will be able to make the most of the Burrell Collection; the general reader, already overwhelmed by the vast bulk of the literature of the subject, will shy away from yet another weighty and close-packed volume. But every true Wagnerian will have to possess this book, by which an outstanding gap in the documentary biography of the composer is filled at last.

F. W.

*Schumann. A Symposium.* Chapters by Willi Reich, Kathleen Dale, Martin Cooper, A. E. F. Dickinson, Mosco Carner, Maurice Lindsay, Gerald Abraham and John Horton. Edited by Gerald Abraham. pp. 319. (Oxford University Press. 1952. 21s.)

The claim of this newest addition to Professor Abraham's series of symposia—which are not symposia in any very strict sense of the word—is that it draws on recent research into Schumann's life and music, notably Boetticher's 'Schumann in seinen Schriften und Briefen' and 'Robert Schumann: Einführung in Persönlichkeit und Werk', both published in Berlin in 1942, and introduces to the English reader various unpublished juvenilia and maturer sketch-books (many of them from the Zwickau Museum) which were ignored by older English biographers, and were inaccessible, because of the war, to more recent writers in this country. Hardly a stone has been left unturned. Whether or not the Schumann who emerges at the end of it all is essentially different from the one we have always known remains a question.

It has always been the Editor's policy to reduce biography to the minimum in these symposia, so as to leave space for a detailed investigation of the music; and even though life and music were more closely interrelated in Schumann's case than in any other composer of importance, no departure is made here from the general rule. Willi Reich's opening chapter, 'Schumann the man', is the shortest in the book and, unhappily to relate, the least satisfactory in view of the 20 unpublished diaries of the

period 1827-52 and the 170 unknown letters on which he admits Boetticher was able to draw. Instead of skilfully grafting whatever he considered new discoveries on to our familiar picture of Schumann the man, so as to lay emphasis on this facet and detract attention from that, he unwisely assumes that the familiar picture is common knowledge, and contents himself with quoting odd bits and pieces at random which do not constitute a point of view or an argument of any kind. One or two interesting facts emerge, such as Schumann's passing whim in February 1839 to seek his friend Bennett's help in getting a teaching job at the Academy in London; but when it comes to Dr. Reich's suggestion that a big David Club novel was contemplated by the young Schumann, he can give us no definite evidence for anything of the kind, and all in all we are left feeling that if the new material brings no more to light than this, past compilers of collections of letters, etc., for publication have done their selecting pretty well. As for Dr. Reich's last statement that no authentic picture of Schumann the man can be drawn until every word he ever wrote is published, that, surely is arrant nonsense.

Like most adolescents destined to become great composers, Schumann wrote down a large number of notes on manuscript paper both before and during the process of arrival at those compositions he ultimately considered worthy of opus numbers. Since it was to the piano that he turned most naturally as a young man, Mrs. Dale, as author of the piano-music chapter, had richer opportunities for musical research than any other author in the book, opportunities of which she has availed herself with a thoroughness that cannot be overpraised. Most of these unknown juvenilia are mere fragments in the Zwickau sketch-books; and with the possible exception of the variations on the Allegretto of Beethoven's seventh symphony (dating from three years after the official Opus I), they do not appear from Mrs. Dale's evaluation to be sufficiently Schumannesque to warrant publication. Composers, after all, have a fairly shrewd idea of what is themselves and what merely an echo of the past. But though nothing important emerges for the concert pianist, Mrs. Dale's investigation of the sketch-books (even though second-hand, through monographs by the German writers, Schwarz and Gertler) is of supreme interest to the musicologist for the light it throws on the composer's gradual stylistic emancipation, his unsuspected perseverance to improve his composition technique, and his equally unsuspected powers of self-criticism in selection and rejection of ideas for the familiar published works. Moreover, though it is common knowledge that for a born miniaturist such as Schumann, variation form was the happiest possible solution to the problem of large-scale architecture, Mrs. Dale is able to prove from the sketch-books that it played a far more important part in his thinking than is commonly known—though it is a pity that in pursuing this theme she was driven to abandoning a strictly chronological approach to the piano music as a whole. When it comes to the familiar works with opus numbers she concerns herself with tracing the gradual emergence of the final version of each, and with style criticism (from the point of view of form, harmonic, melodic and rhythmic idiosyncrasies and keyboard figuration) of so detailed and painstaking a kind that the only possible reproach that can be levelled at her is the difficulty of seeing the wood for the trees. Her chapter will do much to correct the erroneous impression

that Schumann as a young man was all heart and no head; its danger is that it may suggest that he had no heart at all. Never once are we reminded of his own confession that "the man and the musician in me were always trying to speak at once"—never once are we made aware of that breath-taking poetry and sense of wonder which give his piano music its unique place in nineteenth-century keyboard literature.

Second in length to Mrs. Dale's chapter is Dr. Carner's on the orchestral music. Here, thanks to the co-operation of Dr. Eismann of the Schumann Museum at Zwickau, the reader is allowed to make the acquaintance of the first two movements of the composer's first G minor symphonic essay of 1832-3 (the last two exist only in complete sketches), which in Dr. Carner's reliable estimate "attracts by its ideas and fails in its structure", much like the earliest sonata-form experiments for piano at approximately the same time. The projected C minor symphony of the autumn of 1841 is merely mentioned in passing, with thematic quotations, in an editorial footnote. Both here and in the later discussion of the C major symphony (Op. 61) and 'Braut von Messina' overture it is a pity that the Editor did not make his copy of Boetticher—from which his information is drawn—available to Dr. Carner, who could then have incorporated his own observations on the sketches in the text, instead of cluttering the pages with still more footnotes—Dr. Carner's own fondness for them being this admirable chapter's only drawback. It is admirable because the author wisely relates music to life, discussing no work without giving the reader a clear idea of the composer's state of mind at the time of putting pen to paper, and scarcely less so because of the imagination which goes hand in hand with scholarly style criticism (note the discovery of the "true" Böttger poem at the back of the 'Spring' symphony, the suggested programme of the C major symphony and the clue to the new tune in the coda of its finale) and the practical advice offered for performance (notably arising from Schumann's over-fast tempo markings and excessively thick scoring) culled from the author's own experience on the rostrum. But as regards new light on Schumann, it is the influence of Beethoven that emerges as the most important revelation of the chapter. At this point it is pertinent to remark that it was unwise of the Editor to invite a different author to undertake the essay on music for solo instrument and orchestra. While Dr. Carner stresses the "superfluous doublings" (page 216) of the revised version of the D minor symphony, reminding us of Tovey's suggestion that it was Schumann's inadequacy as a conductor at Düsseldorf which led him to make all entries fool-proof by doubling them and filling up the rest, Mr. Lindsay suggests that this same practical experience with an orchestra was responsible for the increased freedom of the wind instruments in the violin concerto. Nor can Schumann's remarkable process of thematic metamorphosis in the piano concerto be properly appraised apart from his other experiments of this kind in the earlier 1840s. About the four "discoveries" listed in this category at the back of the book (including an unfinished D minor piano concerto of 1839, as well as juvenilia), Mr. Lindsay has nothing at all to say—nor, surprisingly enough, does the Editor turn to Boetticher at this point.

When it comes to the chronological list of chamber music, the eye is immediately attracted by references to a lost string quartet and the lost

openings of three further string quartets, all dating from 1838-9, a remarkable anticipation of the chamber-music outburst proper (1842), for which no explanation is suggested either by the Editor or Mr. Dickinson, who undertakes this chapter. Earlier research by Hans Redlich enables Mr. Dickinson to point to Schumann's re-use of a phrase from the scherzo of the still earlier unpublished C minor piano quartet (written while Schumann was still a law student) in the fourth piano intermezzo of Op. 4; and even though the author has apparently not examined the manuscript, it is interesting to know that there is in the library of the Paris Conservatory a third violin sonata in A minor consisting not only of the Intermezzo and Finale Schumann contributed to a composite sonata for Joachim by Brahms, Dietrich and himself, but also the additional 'Ziemlich langsam' and 'Lebhaft' (dated November 1, 1853) which he subsequently proposed to substitute for the movements composed by his two young friends. For the rest, the interest in the chapter lies less in Mr. Dickinson's unsympathetic and highly subjective views on what Schumann *ought* to have written in his chamber music than in the Editor's copious footnotes pointing to outstanding divergences in the sketches of these works—though again the chapter might have been less of a hotch-potch had the author proper been allowed access to Boetticher, or alternatively had the Editor undertaken the entire responsibility for the chapter, developing his interesting theory that there was frequently an unstated master-theme in Schumann's mind from which his stated themes derived, both more spaciouly and positively.

Professor Abraham brings forward a further novel claim, in his own chapter on the dramatic music, that "just as the kernel of Schumann's early style is measured lyrical melody based on the four-line stanza of poetry, the kernel of his later style is the fugue theme". Admittedly, soon after the age of thirty the composer realized the inadequacy of his youthful technique for the extended forms of composition he felt incumbent on him to explore, and applied himself to rigorous contrapuntal exercises as the first step towards overcoming sectional construction. But the reader must not infer from this that his later contrapuntal equipment was in any way comparable with the genius of his early lyrical melody. Mr. Horton comes rather nearer the truth in his subsequent lively chapter on the choral works (good as far as it goes, which is not quite far enough), when criticizing the choruses of 'Paradise and the Peri' for their "series of trite imitative entries that fail to develop into a genuine polyphonic texture". Here again the Editor's wisdom in treating the dramatic and choral music in separate chapters is questionable, for to give himself enough food for thought in the former he is driven to placing the 'Scenen aus Goethes Faust' alongside 'Manfred' and 'Genoveva', when its proper place is alongside 'Paradise and the Peri' in the latter. But gratitude is due to Professor Abraham for bringing forward evidence of the existence of two sketches for a projected opera on Byron's 'Corsair', dating from 1844 (both in the Berlin State Library), and for his very thorough examination of 'Genoveva'. Like Wagner, he is far too hard on the libretto; and is he not mistaken in referring to a child in his synopsis of Schumann's ultimate Act IV? It was Reinick who wished to preserve the child of the original legend, but Schumann who insisted that it must go. The analysis of the thematic reminiscences in the opera is masterly

in its detail and it is good to find the Professor acknowledging in the end that, with the possible exception of a couple of Golo motives standing for "revenge" and "evil", Schumann's somewhat loose reminiscence technique has very little in common with systematic Wagnerian leitmotive.

In his song chapter Mr. Cooper avoids the temptation of attaching too much importance to every divergence between the sketches (which he appears to have examined personally) and the published results, contenting himself with showing that Schumann's powers of self-criticism did not desert him even when to all intents most carried away by spontaneous inspiration—as in the 'Dichterliebe'. There were few "lost" manuscripts for him to bring to light among the songs, though he informs us of the publication of an additional one amongst the juvenilia of 1827-8, and he corrects the misconception that the poet of 'Rätsel' was Byron, as well as pointing out two interesting instances of Schumann's own misquotation of his poets' text. Otherwise he concerns himself with style criticism of a kind as valuable as Dr. Carner's in its equal concern for form and content, and with evaluation of the songs, notably as compared with those of Liszt and Wolf. Not everyone will agree with his claim that "no single one of these early songs [i.e. 1840] is a piano solo with obbligato voice", but his insistence on the excellent influence on Schumann of Heine, "because of the conciseness and point of his style" after the ramblings of Jean Paul, is thoroughly permissible and valuable as an observation.

Furthermore, there is a section in Mr. Cooper's chapter which takes the reader nearer to the heart of Schumann than anything else in the books. Alone among the eight authors he emphasizes that specific quality of "Innigkeit", or "variety of warm, infinite and meditative emotion" arising from the "naïvely emotional and complacent background which determined the composer's mentality", which is a far more important clue to an imaginative appreciation of Schumann than any of the new facts brought to light in the course of the 319 pages. At its best it lifts the composer to the great heights of 'Am leuchtenden Sommermorgen' (Mr. Cooper's example); at its worst it dates his man by investing it with that very sentimentality which so endeared it, as Mr. Cooper points out, to our grandparents.

There is no mention of Schumann the critic in the book, nor is there any chapter (such as Mr. Cooper would have written so well) attempting to bring the separate contributions into focus as one large whole. But the scrupulousness of the editing, bearing remarkable testimony to Professor Abraham's unceasing, sleuth-like pursuit of the naked truth (how his services would be valued at Scotland Yard!) and intimate acquaintance with every score, does much to iron out the unevennesses (inevitable in a symposium) of the several chapters, and to make this book an outstanding contribution to Schumann research in England.

J. O. C.

*Haydn. A historical and psychological study, based on his quartets.* By Robert Sondheimer. pp. 196. (London: Edition Bernoulli. 1951. 18s.)

This cannot have been an easy book to write, for it contains a microscopic knowledge of certain phases of eighteenth-century music

worked in double counterpoint with twentieth-century ideologies and psychoanalytical postulates. Nor can its involved German sentences have been easy to translate, as Dr. Sondheimer indicates in his somewhat ungracious Preface. Thirdly, the book is uncommonly tough to read. Determined students who tussle through it may emerge mentally strengthened, but general readers can be forgiven if they share the feeling of the Victorian lady who, after attempting to read 'Sordello' with her fellow members of a Browning Society, said there were only two lines in it she had understood: the first, which said, "Who will, may hear Sordello's story told," and the last, which wasn't true because it said, "Who will, may hear Sordello's story told."

Dr. Sondheimer's book, then, is for specialists. His objects, as outlined by himself, are: "To establish Haydn's musical origins; to show in what manner he benefited from them; and to determine from this process his psychical make-up as well as his historical position." Concerning Haydn's origins and the manner in which he benefited, Dr. Sondheimer takes a severe view. According to him Haydn plagiarized almost everything of value in his quartets from his contemporaries, his juniors or the older pre-classical composers—C. P. E. and J. C. Bach, Boccherini, Clementi, Grétry, Hoffmeister, Leo, Naumann, Rigel, Sammartini (whose workmanship Haydn particularly disliked), Schwindl, Stamitz, Vanhall, Wagenseil and, above all others, Franz Beck, for whom Dr. Sondheimer reserves his utmost devotion. He deplores that they should be neglected and his book is as much about them, and the collection of pre-classical works he has edited, as it is about Haydn. Poor Haydn, in fact, comes off rather badly. Whenever he does anything good Dr. Sondheimer hastens to point out how much better his favourites did it, and confronts us with a formidable array of Haydn's "imitations". Some are evident. Haydn honestly admitted he taught himself to compose by observing what was good, what was better, what was best, and by copying it. Many other young artists have done the same, playing (in R. L. Stevenson's classic phrase) the sedulous ape. Some of Dr. Sondheimer's examples show close parallels and shed valuable side-lights on Haydn's self-tuition. Others, again, belong to the current coin of music at that period, while some of the "likenesses" are hardly discernable. But even when they are clear, surely it is going very far to assert, as Dr. Sondheimer does, that some likenesses between passages in Haydn's quartets of Op. 1 and Wagenseil's symphonies of Op. 3 prove that Haydn's Op. 1 must have been composed five years later than 1755 (the generally accepted date), because Wagenseil's Op. 3 was composed at the very earliest in 1755 but probably two or three years later. Why should not the positions be reversed? Why should not Wagenseil have been the borrower? It is perfectly possible. Griesinger, who collected the biographical material from Haydn himself, states that his first quartet was composed for Baron von Fürnberg, when Haydn spent a summer in his service at Weinzierl. The date of that summer is not quite certain, but on Haydn's own showing it cannot have been later than 1757.

While discussing the quartets of Haydn's Opp. 1, 2 and 3, Dr. Sondheimer diverges to give some interesting data concerning music publishers in Paris in the 1760s—welcome additions to a still obscure subject. In the course of his remarks he rebukes Scott firmly for having

based her dating of the publication in Paris of Haydn's quartet in E $\flat$ , Op. 1, No. 6, upon an entry in Riemann's *Lexikon* stating that Huberty's business (whose name Dr. Sondheimer persistently spells with an i instead of a y) was taken over by La Chevardière in 1761. Since no one had done any musicological work on the quartet before Scott, she may perhaps be permitted to wonder courteously whether Dr. Sondheimer based his rebuke on the summary of her work in Professor Larsen's book 'Die Haydn Überlieferung' or whether he honoured her by reading her actual essay upon the quartet. If the latter is the case, then he failed to notice that the statement made by her was conditional. "If" (she wrote) Riemann's dates were correct, they pushed back the publication of Haydn's music by at least three years—and she put the "if" in italics. Now, of course, she would be more cautious, having had a longer experience of the difficulties which beset musicologists. Dr. Sondheimer himself has not altogether escaped making them. For example, he asserts that "Haydn only started to compose in 1750." He cannot have been aware of the fact that in the Esterházy archives one of the orchestral parts of Haydn's *Missa Brevis* in F, No. 1, is inscribed in his own writing, "di Jos. Haydn 749." Again, Dr. Sondheimer says 'The Seven Last Words' were composed when Haydn was fifty. In point of fact he was fifty-three, for he was born in 1732 and composed the work in 1785. Nor was "Haydn's last sacred work 'The Seasons'", which happens to be an oratorio based upon a secular text, none other than James Thomson's well-known poem. Not all the musical statements are impeccable. On page 89 Dr. Sondheimer speaks of harmonic peculiarities in the quartets of Op. 20, "which enhanced Haydn's reputation", and says, "In the finale of the 3rd quartet the anticipation of the tonic, five bars before the final conclusion, seems a miniature anticipation of Beethoven's dissonant entry of the main motif preceding the opening of the recapitulation in the first movement of the 'Eroica.'" But there is nothing novel about Haydn's having made a cadence into the desired key—which in one case happens to be the relative major and in the other the tonic—and then confirming it by adding a short codetta before the double bar. What is revolutionary in Beethoven's 'Eroica' is the anticipatory overlapping and *sounding together* of the tonic subject and dominant harmony. Nor do the musical illustrations on page 129 serve Dr. Sondheimer much better in his desire to show that in the first movement of Op. 54, No. 3, "Haydn's melodic progressions and his modulation to the minor are exactly the same as Boccherini's", in his symphony in C major; unless indeed to modulate from B major to C $\sharp$  minor (Haydn) and to remain throughout in G minor (Boccherini) are identical.

When it comes to determining Haydn's psychical make-up readers will receive a shock. Dr. Sondheimer writes with an acrimony that sets one's imagination flitting about the idea of a cosy chat between Gregor Werner, the crotchety Kapellmeister to whom Haydn acted as assistant for five years in Prince Esterházy's Kapelle, and Dr. Sondheimer, could he step back into the eighteenth century. Werner would say—as he really did—"Haydn is a mere fop: a scribbler of songs." And Dr. Sondheimer would reply, speaking by his book, "The nebulous personality of the young Haydn gradually assumes a more definite colouring. There can hardly have been a more worldly servant of the spirit, or a musician-

poet more rigidly held in leading strings by methodical considerations" (p. 38). "In his maturity prudence assumed command over his artistic conscience," (p. 105) . . . he "became an assiduous servant of the world" (p. 126). "Haydn did not traverse more than half the route leading from music to free spirituality, for his dialectic kept to the crutches of musical formalities as tenaciously as an ecclesiastical philosopher to the articles of dogma." (p. 118).

"Dialectic? what is that? I never met the word," so Haydn seems to murmur in the offing, only to be told by Dr. Sondheimer that an absorption in dialectic and a reprehensible fondness for making one subject do the work of two in sonata form are the distinguishing characteristics of his style.

By the time Dr. Sondheimer reaches his last chapter Haydn, though frequently called a great man, ought to have been reduced to the plight of the Jackdaw of Rheims after it had been chastened by bell, book and candle. But no! "His vitality provokes such admiration that one looks upon him almost with a shudder," and our author's peroration closes with these words, "The devil, whom Haydn, like Faust, had summoned in order to be endowed with greater powers, would even have covered his work with the ashen dust of formalism, if Haydn had not outmanoeuvred him, first by his rhythmical dash and ready wit, and then by grace of the wisdom he had amassed." From which one is left to suppose that Haydn had become, what Handel once called himself, Beelzebub the Prince of the devils.

Some words of Haydn's, written in 1792, shall serve as the last. "In spite of the great opposition of my musical enemies, who are so bitter against me . . . still, thank God, I may say I have kept the upper hand."

M. M. S.

*Annales de la musique et des musiciens en Russie au dix-huitième siècle.* By R. Aloys Mooser. Three volumes. (Geneva: Editions du Mont-Blanc.) *Russian Opera.* By Martin Cooper. (London: Max Parrish. 1951. 7s. 6d.)

The first volume of Professor Mooser's magnificent publication came out in 1948. The second and third, recently come to hand, are undated; they consist of more than a thousand pages in all. The subject may appear to be uninviting, for the Russian music of the eighteenth century is insignificant and even the eminent foreigners who spent more or less time in Russia—such men as Galuppi, Traetta, Paisiello, Cimarosa, Sarti and Martin y Soler—are of only secondary interest. But the reader is soon absorbed by the procession of characters who cross the unfamiliar scene, and by the story of the acclimatization of Western music in the Romanovs' barbaric empire.

The second volume deals with the reign of Catherine II, the third with that of Paul I. Both sovrans are described in some detail, and their characters are very germane to the history, for imperial predilections and whims were all-important influences in the fortunes of the musical art. Catherine was no lover of music, but was liberal enough to recognize the place due to it in a civilized state, and during her long reign there was a prodigious expansion of music-making in her empire, thanks to the passion for the art which developed in the nobility and to

the musical aptitude of the common people—but also to the subsidies the accorded.

Nothing is more interesting to read than Mooser's account, in his third volume, of the feudal theatres and orchestras which, by the end of the century, abounded in Russia. These were imitations of the splendid Court establishments, which in the course of a couple of generations were rivalled, if not outshone, by the private companies. Among the most notable was that of the Sheremetiev family, here described in detail. At the turn of the century there were 173 of these "feudal theatres" in town and country—fifty-three in Moscow alone. This is to say nothing of the horn bands, one of which was maintained by every self-respecting Russian nobleman. How elaborate were the entertainments mounted at these country seats is shown by many particulars. One of Catherine II's lovers, S. G. Zoritch, when he retired from the Court, maintained a princely establishment of singers, dancers and instrumentalists, and there were seventeen changes of scenery at one spectacle staged in honour of his imperial mistress. Sometimes the realism was barbarous enough: in a ballet, 'Diana and Endymion', mounted at Prince Narishkin's theatre at St. Petersburg, a herd of live deer was pursued by huntsmen and a pack of hounds.

A certain number of foreign artists were engaged, but the great majority of the performers were serfs born as the property of the great landlords, who possessed powers of life and death over their peasantry. The system was to select children of promise and to submit them to a rigorous theatrical or musical education. The regimen was often harsh, and we read of a ferocious code of punishments; but the Sheremetievs, at least, distinguished themselves by dispensing with physical chastisement. A commercial element entered into the system, for there was a traffic in these serf-artists. A trained musician might fetch £100 in the market, and one of outstanding ability as much as £1,000. Sometimes an entire orchestra would be sold.

The scale on which Count Sheremetiev entertained may be judged from the details Mooser gives of the feast-days, when he threw open his place at Kouskovo, near Moscow, to all comers, and 30,000 persons would attend from the city. It is curious that the word "Vauxhall" should already have been acclimatized in Russia. The Sheremetievs' pleasure garden was a "vauxhall". When the family's other seat, Ostankino, was sacked by the French in 1812 they destroyed among other things 5,000 theatrical costumes. The repertory was rather more French than Italian. Such names as Monsigny, Grétry and Dalayrac occur again and again. Four of Gluck's works appear; and there are a few Russian pieces. The Sheremetievs owned 200,000 serfs, so the field for selection was wide. The most famous star of the theatre did not come from a distance: she was "Parasha" (Praskovia Kovalevskaya), daughter of the Kouskovo blacksmith. This charming and gifted person was educated to become a brilliant singer and eventually the legitimate spouse of Nicolas Petrovitch Sheremetiev—a fairy-take career. But it was a fairy-tale with a sad ending, for Parasha died young of tuberculosis.

If there is not another romance quite so pretty as this in Mooser's pages the "human interest" is plentiful, and the fancier of gossip from

the past will be pleased with such things as the story of a French adventurer named Chevalier, a singer who captivated St. Petersburg in Paul I's day, and succeeded in enthralling that unprepossessing monarch himself, greatly to the advantage of her banking account. The assassination of the emperor cut her reign short, but she was allowed to depart bereft only of one prodigious diamond that had been among her lover's presents. Our author's "biographical notes" save from oblivion hundreds of the long-obscure, among them a few English. Here, for instance, is Michael Maddox, who turned up in Russia in 1767 as an acrobat and became manager of the Petrovsky Theatre at Moscow, where he experienced ups and downs for more than twenty years. He must have been a person of extraordinary vitality and resource. One of his merits was to encourage the native composer. Mooser allows him serious credit for the part he played in the development of Russian comic opera. When he retired a pension of £300 a year was granted him, and he lived on in Russia until 1822. Then we get a fleeting glimpse of an English theatrical company which visited St. Petersburg in 1767, Mr. and Mrs. Brooks, Miss Cook and Mrs. Ray being among its members; and of another in 1771-72, a year of plague in Russia. Dibdin's 'The Padlock', Arne's 'Love in a Village', 'Midas' and Arnold's 'Maid of the Mill' were in the repertory. The manager was one Fisher; names in the roll of the company were Mr. and Mrs. Hoppel, Jane Barry, Margaret Andrews, Arabella Bovy, Bankier, Goder and Thomas Johnson. It is a pity these strolling players should not have left a record of their experiences. Mooser, at all events, has with all his industry found no details with which to gratify our curiosity, beyond a bare indication that English ballad opera seems to have been pretty well received in the Russia of nearly 200 years ago.

Mr. Cooper's outline is a piece of graceful draughtsmanship. In the final section, 'Soviet Realism', he is to some extent handicapped by the impossibility of making the acquaintance of some of the representative scores, but the principal period, that from Glinka to Rimsky-Korsakov, is treated in a way both informative and readable. The booklet appears in the Franckenstein-Deutsch series, a series well known for the excellence of its ingeniously chosen illustrations.

R. C.

*The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes.* Edited by Iona and Peter Opie. (Oxford University Press. 1951. 30s.)

"The nursery rhyme", say the teamed editors of this entertaining compilation of infant lore, "by tacit and universal consent may be either said or sung". They themselves treat it as a literary and not a musical phenomenon. They would, however, have made an even more valuable, if rather larger, book if they had been willing to regard a central corpus of the best-known rhymes, a hundred, say, out of their total of five hundred, as songs, and given their tunes. There is no reference in the bibliography or in the very full notes to the 'Oxford Nursery Song Book', which Sir Percy Buck edited for the same publishers. His name appears in the Index of Notable Figures, but there are no page references after it. Since the 'Oxford Nursery Song Book' was designed for practical rather than scholarly use this may not matter very much, but it is symptomatic of the purely literary attitude, such as for long hampered the study of

ballads, which tells only half the story. It is normally a critical impropriety to criticize authors for leaving something out which they never intended to put in, but *MUSIC & LETTERS* is the right place in which to deplore the omission of the music that is an integral part of the subject.

There are references to, and a few reproductions of, Ravenscroft's and Playford's tunes, and four sections in the absorbingly interesting Introduction deal with song-books and folk-songs as sources of the rhymes. But some of the tunes themselves have nearly as much interest as the verses. The noble tune in the Lydian mode to 'Matthew, Mark, Luke and John' and the primitive fragment of 'Bye baby bunting', which by mere repetition becomes a song, represent the extreme opposites of musical organization, and 'If all the world were paper' is the last surviving dance-song for adult as well as nursery use. It is not as though the authors are innocent of music, for they note that 'Baa, baa, black sheep' is sung to 'Ah, vous dirai-je, maman', and give occasional references to tunes by name. Is it too much to ask that they will complete their labours, as Francis James Child in similar case with the ballads was ultimately obliged to do, with an appendix of tunes suitably annotated?

The attitude to folk-lore is somewhat similar. The authors are aware of it, as they are also of history, embedded in those rhymes which are less literary compositions than worn-down stumps of something else surviving from the past, but they give it short shrift. They quote a passage from a presidential address of the Folk Lore Society by Lord Raglan, who was himself quoting from one heretical member who said that "the folk had neither part nor lot in the making of folk-lore". This becomes "folk-lorists of the twentieth century have reluctantly to admit" that the folk had nothing to do with folk-lore, though Lord Raglan himself applied it only to the folk-play. There is no doubt ample enough evidence in the dictionary itself to show that most nursery rhymes have a literary history. One tradition, however, which according to more orthodox views on the origin of folk arts not only transmits but also creates them in the process of passing them on, is very much alive in the nursery. The beginning of the seventeenth century, which is also the most likely date for most English folk-songs, is assigned by Mr. and Mrs. Opie as the date of the majority of our rhymes, though many are unascertainably more ancient. Documentary evidence is forthcoming for 40 per cent by the end of the eighteenth century, though systematic literary record of them only begins with Halliwell half-way through the nineteenth century. The nursery rhyme thus resembles the ballad and the French novel in coming down to us by parallel traditions of oral transmission and print. The Opies' attitude is thus like Chappell's to folk-song—the oral version is regarded as a debased inheritance from the educated classes.

This attitude has a compensating advantage in that the compilers dismiss most of the far-fetched interpretations in terms of symbolism and sympathetic magic. They prefer the light-hearted nonsense of the rhymes themselves to the solemn nonsense of the interpreters, though they are prepared to admit the political lampoon as the source of some rhymes, historic events as accretions to others. Thus on 'Who killed cock Robin' they entertain the possibility that Balder the Beautiful and

Horace Walpole are not exclusive alternatives for its origin. Of 'Cock a-doodle-do' they find the parentage in a murder story of Tudor times, and the 'King of Spain's Daughter in "I had a little nut tree"' is also allowed as a reference to an historical event of the same period. Could not this tolerance have been extended to riddles, and the possibility of hidden meaning in their symbolism been admitted?

There is no pleasing everybody by what is put in and what is left out. 'The Keel Row' and 'Sally go round the sun' and 'There was a frog lived in a well' are not here, perhaps because they are classed as rhymes belonging not to the nursery but to school. 'I saw Esau' is named in the Introduction and referred to as 'our No. 172', but is not to be found. On the other hand, the reader will find many not heard in his own nursery, whose acquaintance he is glad to make. The contents are arranged in the alphabetical order of their salient word, an arrangement that seems sensible till practice shows that it is usually quicker to refer to the index of first lines. There is no index of titles. The introduction runs to 48 pages and exhales much of the charm of the rhymes themselves while preserving scrupulous standards of scholarships. Each rhyme has an attendant note: the *apparatus criticus* of 'Three little kittens' is worthy of the 'Oedipus Tyrannus'.

F. H.

*Bach and Handel: the Consummation of the Baroque in Music.* By Archibald T. Davison. pp. 77. (Harvard University Press. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege. 1951.) 12s. 6d.

In any period of history we find both modern and academic composers. It is always an astonishment that the two giants of the early eighteenth century were an up-to-date, fashion-leading modern composer and a stuffy, out-of-date Kapellmeister, and that posterity should have found the old periwig's music by far the more unusual and, whatever happens to music, more "modern". Is there much more to add by way of comparing and juxtaposing the diverse achievement of the two masters? Dr. Davison evidently thinks so, for he has diverted into permanent form the flood of thought effused in three Page-Barbour lectures at the University of Virginia. Lectures may interest or edify (e.g. Tovey's 'The Integrity of Music' and Stravinsky's 'Poétique Musicale') but they do not make good books. Nor does Dr. Davison persuade one to eat those words. Indeed he goes so far as to admit that the linking of Bach and Handel is a false one, only done "because they lived at the same time and because together they constitute the crowning glory of a great period".

Handel can be regarded rather as a forward-looking figure, a signpost to Haydn and Beethoven and so to the romantics (and certainly to Victorian England). Of Bach the statement is certainly true. And Bach it was the bicentenary of whose death prompted these lectures. Dr. Davison is a fervent Bachante. Perhaps the most vital paragraph in the book is the one that ends:

I do not in the slightest degree believe that great music can, all by itself, exert a beneficial moral influence; but I do know that to sing one of the major choral works of Bach, to live for a space in a musical eloquence that has no superior, to be permitted to share the thought of one whose genius knew no limits, to sense that one has played an active role in recreating a timeless work of art—an experience like this, I say, offers us a lasting resource of life and leaves us at least different beings from what we were before.

Some, even the fathers among us, might lag behind the good doctor when he includes among the continuous creative objects of his admiration "a feat that inspires me with an awe comparable to that which I feel for his music, namely, his fathering of 20 children".

He discusses Bach's motets—but sits on the fence when it comes to the decision, to accompany or not to accompany—and the *Magnificat*, "Bach's most popular choral work". By popular he presumably means *volkstümlich*, not *beliebt* which is how English readers would understand him, for he is able to relate a charming tale of, "Glee Club members staggering across Boston Common [early one morning when they were preparing the *Magnificat* for concert performance], singing in perfect canon and with confident though bibulous piety, 'Omnes, omnes, omnes, omnes generationes'". (If he is referring to the last entry there are several more audible "omneses", but perhaps they had been left behind at the party.) He discusses the Passions with reference to Karl Young's 'The Drama of the Mediaeval Church'. This is an interesting digression, applicable as much to Verdi's *Requiem* negatively (in view of the nonsense still written about its "theatricality") as positively to Bach's Passion settings, since Young maintains that, "Dramatic externalities must not be taken for genuine drama itself, in which the essential element is not forms of speech and movement, but *impersonation*". Dr. Davison refers also to D. C. Somervell's article in *MUSIC & LETTERS* (October 1946) on the Bach Passions and Greek Tragedy, and is inclined to speculate on the extent of Bach's Greek. Terry tells us that he learned "the rudiments" at Lüneburg and that certain Greek books may have been read there, perhaps in Latin translations; no mention is made of the work of the great tragedians. Dr. Davison is earnestly keen to explore this brambled track. But he discusses Bach's acquaintance with the works of Monteverdi and Schütz with some summariness; for the library at Lüneburg, which Bach had ample time to explore after his voice broke, contained works by both composers, including some of Schütz's Passion music (vide Terry; Bach, pp. 38-42.)

Unlike some of Bach's admirers, the author finds plenty of time for Handel. He admits and respects the verticality of Handel's counterpoint, and finds that "every note of his choruses . . . is autobiographical". But he has not much revelation to impart and, somewhat unconvincingly as a result, I feel, wastes much space on Runciman's silly, un-equal-minded appreciation of Handel in 'Old Scores and New Readings'. With two composers so radically different, a comparison seems dubiously valuable. But Dr. Davison's essay has the merit of stimulation. Under the heading "perplexities and pleasures" I have noticed some points. Dr. Davison follows fashion in decrying Graun's 'Der Tod Jesu', a work of striking beauty, it seems to me, especially when one discounts the superiority of Bach's Passion music. Another surprise is the opinion that the slow coda of "All we like sheep" "completely upsets the form". But surely that Adagio is the making of a fine chorus! A comparison of key-systems in Bach and Handel seems pointless. The 'Messiah' has no obtrusive tonic, while Bach's *Magnificat* and *High Mass* are forcibly in D major. While we are about it, what makes Dr. Davison view the tenor voice in Bach "with the distaste we feel for the oboe in the accompaniment of Brahms's choral works"? And when he talks of Bach's harpsichord

concerto in D, is he pedantically referring to what we know as the E major violin concerto, or has "minor" been left out? A reference farther on to the concerto for four claviers "in A" makes one prefer the latter supposition. There is an odd combination of 'Messiah' and plum-pudding as "constants in English life", a strange and morbid citation of Handel's "My Plane Tree" (*sic*) as the tune to which all of us will be buried, and a reference to Gesualdo as "an expert poisoner". With happier reaction we may note account being taken of Tippett's 'A Child of our Time'; we relish James Joseph Sylvester's acknowledgment that, "One of the magnificent choruses in the 'Israel in Egypt' . . . stole into my mind the idea . . . of the equivalence of the Sturmian residues to the denominator series formed by the reverse convergents". (Dr. Davison reckons that we should have been spared this if Sylvester had preferred Bach.) We remark with interest the author's consideration of Bach's C minor Passacaglia as potential ballet music, and we taste bliss in the account of an American performance of the Coffee Cantata at which the audience adjourned "to the foyer to enjoy coffee, cream and sugar, all generously provided by a wholesale coffee company". If not a helpful book, this is an enjoyable one.

W. S. M.

*A Course in Musical Composition.* By Norman Demuth. Part I. pp. 141. (London: Bosworth. 1951. 12s. 6d.)

The training of composers, and of musicians seeking insight into the composer mind, may follow two courses. The traditional styles may be analysed and expounded from various points of view, as texture or structure for its own sake, or as illuminating evocation of the literary, dramatic or ritual worlds which have lain on the fringes of music from time immemorial. Or the creative ear may be exercised in the solving of typical problems of continuation on more or less prescribed lines. The former may be suggestive to the learner, in so far as it gathers by expert analysis those lessons of history which provide permanent indications and standards of melodic and harmonic expansion, structural development and the musical exploitation of the interplay of words and of human motives. But unless it penetrates to the thought behind the procedure, this survey is apt to remain a series of narrative observations of the unpredictable, leaving a deposit of truisms; for example, that binary structure in the classical period exhibits two stages, to and from the dominant. The composer of to-day finds himself little farther on for knowing about the stock resolutions of the dominant seventh. Thus the empirical method is a safer approach, and as long as it could keep to a straight, hedged-in path, it seemed the right and only one, for it ensured the writing of correct music in some sense, and a foundation of professional competence.

Now, however, it is wide experience that the traditional establishment (and avoidance) of certain harmonic relations, exercises in modal counterpoint, fugue, sonata-practice and choral writing are found wanting as directives for more adventurous voyages, and a wider or different orbit of elementary training invites consideration. It is thus with some expectation that one turns to a fresh handbook on the subject by an experienced London teacher-composer, while realizing that a college

teacher has to think in terms of immature minds and average mental quotients.

Mr. Demuth seems to have produced this handbook in tremendous haste. He does not make it clear at the outset whom he is addressing—the college student or the extra-mural teacher—but presumably he has some kind of average student in mind. For him this Part One provides a remarkable mixture of profuse (and usually accurate) technical illustration, ranging from the Modes to “Pantonicity”, and carelessly potted musical history *passim*, and an introduction to the structure (but barely the texture) of sixteenth-century music. This is summarized on a title-page (not in the table of contents) as “Technique-idiom-style”. The provenance of the remaining Part or Parts is not defined, except for a final grand promise to study each style in turn.

On these lines the writer rambles from chapter to chapter in a style far from happy, whether verbally or educationally. The best chapter is that on melodic construction. It is ably anticipated by Piston in his ‘Counterpoint’, but it contains some cogent examples. But thence the reader is led into a confused and confusing account of “classicism” and other “-isms” (*sic*), preceded (why?) by a summary of some treatises on modern harmony; and then on to polytonality and all that, including the twelve-note method. Of what use is all this tour of interesting features (in cross-section, of course) to the average student? It is much too superficial for the advanced student, who will go to the original sources in their wider contexts. There is the making of a book or books in the exhibition, step by step, of the living thought of this and that period; and, with all respect to Stanford and others, it is not necessary to begin with the contrapuntal styles. But, to take the simplest instance, writing out the authentic and plagal modes (yet again!) without any explanation or direction is sheer waste of paper. This is not a Course but a series of diversions, framed by observant and wide reading, but desperately lacking in clear thought and sense of purpose. (“Exactly what causes Inspiration has never been decided”.) The art of music reveals behind it various types of incalculable dream-impulses (what Mr. Demuth calls “-isms”) and in front of it a variety of rhetoric (what he calls “-alities”) in the handling of material, where whatever works is right.

But between these is a whole history of musical thinking, and in the book under review this thread of living thought is buried in a welter of *obiter dicta*. It will sadden all those who believe that education and craftsmanship alike consist in getting things right or making them what they are for the right reasons.

A. E. F. D.

*Einführung in die Musikalische Formenlehre.* By Erwin Ratz. pp. 248. (Vienna: Oesterreichischer Bundesverlag. 1951.)

This is no ordinary text-book on musical form, as the title might well suggest. It is at once more and less than that. Less, because the author (a one-time pupil of Schönberg and Webern and primed in the Schenkerian theory) is chiefly concerned with the small units of classical music, *i.e.* theme and period; and more, because he sets out to illustrate a special thesis indicated in the lengthy sub-title: “Ueber Formprinzipien

in der Inventionen J. S. Bachs und ihre Bedeutung für die Kompositionstechnik Beethovens".

He starts from the general premise that Bach and Beethoven, while representing the respective points of culmination of two different styles, polyphony and homophony, yet have this in common: that both achieved a synthesis of the horizontal and the vertical, though laying different emphasis on these two fundamental aspects. Seeing that Bach's influence appeared strongest in the late Beethoven, the author is tempted to regard the Vienna master's third-period works as an organic continuation of the Bachian style. Yet even in a purely technical sense this would seem going too far, to say nothing of the difference in the inner significance between Beethoven's late "neoclassicism" and Bach's polyphonic thinking.

The author is, however, not concerned with this larger aspect. What he wishes to show—and his analyses are convincing enough—is the fact that the classical Viennese principles of thematic structure and development may already be observed in Bach, notably in the Inventions. At first blush the choice of these pieces for his main point of departure may seem odd. Yet the author's argument is that the Inventions reveal Bach's structural methods more systematically and in greater clarity than any other of his works. Here Ratz sees in the Inventions not a definite type of form but a free medium which allowed the composer to exercise his structural skill without let or hindrance, thus illustrating the working of musical invention *per se*. Illuminating parallels are drawn, for example, between the "firm" and "loose" elements in the Inventions and sonata form; and Bach's free alternation between contrapuntal and a more harmonic writing is compared with Beethoven's "obligates Akkompagnement". Here Ratz also points to the interludes in Bach's fugues as anticipating the later thematic development. This leads him to a more detailed consideration of the different nature and function of the fugal subject on the one hand and the first subject of the sonata on the other—one of the best chapters of his book. Lastly, he proceeds to analyse movements from three Beethoven quartets and the whole of the Sonata Op. 106, with pertinent references to certain features in Bach. He incidentally throws out the interesting suggestion that the wonderful introduction to the fugue of Op. 106 is the reflection of a poetic image: the ethereal scene of Ariel and his Spirits in 'Faust' II, with which the Beethoven movement shows "a considerable correspondence in the artistic projection of an analogous spiritual experience". Although Beethoven could not have read 'Faust' II (which was first published in 1832), Ratz thinks it possible that at one of their few meetings Goethe may have told him in general outline about the great scene he was planning. (Heinrich Schenker would have more than frowned on his disciple's attempt to introduce despised "hermeneutics" into a purely musical analysis.)

This is an interesting and often penetrating study but it is hardly a book. The author is tempted to chase too many hares, and he addresses himself to three different classes of readers—the scholar, the composer-student and the musical layman—compelling him constantly to change his level of discussion. A consequence of his method is the presentation of his main thesis in a manner that tends to be devious and diffuse.

M. C.

*The Gilbert and Sullivan Book.* By Leslie Baily. pp. 443. (London: Cassell. 1952. 42s.) *Gilbert and Sullivan.* By Arthur Jacobs. pp. 66. (London: Max Parrish. 1951. 7s. 6d.)

Both these books are handsomely and amusingly illustrated. The frontispiece to the larger one reproduces some of Charles Ricketts's designs for the splendid 1926 revival of 'The Mikado', designs which rather disturbed the old conservatives but which made the "dreary pink dressing-gown style" of the original Savoy production—so called by Ricketts in a letter from which Mr. Baily quotes—look dowdy. Ricketts had lived in Japan and was a student of Japanese art. The style of the gorgeous 1926 dresses was that of about 1720, "when the national costume was especially beautiful". Mr. Baily's book (which has grown out of a series of B.B.C. programmes, first broadcast in 1947) abounds in such footnotes to the history of the Savoy operettas.

The Lives of the two collaborators are described side by side. It is curious that Sullivan's character should by comparison appear imprecise and almost shadowy. There are innumerable references to his amiability and charm but hardly a vivid trait in all the contributions Mr. Baily has so industriously drawn upon, while Gilbert—"deeply regretted by all who didn't know him", according to the epitaph he composed for himself—stands out in three dimensions. His "carpet quarrel" with D'Oyly Carte—the occasion of the historic breach in 1890—is here described with hitherto unpublished details, and it exhibits Gilbert in a light more than ever unflattering. In eleven years he had made £90,000 out of the operettas, and there was something almost crazy in the rage he indulged in over Carte's expenditure of £140—a figure he exaggerated into £500—over new carpets for the front of the theatre.

Here, too, we read of the Savoyards' war with the American pirates which gave rise to comic-opera incidents in the American courts of law. One Tammany judge, giving a decision against the authors of 'The Mikado', pronounced: "Copyright or no copyright, commercial honesty or commercial buccaneering, no Englishman possesses any rights which a true-born American is bound to respect". Sullivan, be it said, no more than Gilbert, was indifferent to the gold-mine at the Savoy. We frequently hear him faintly moaning—his conscience pricks him, he yearns after higher things. But he had expensive tastes—and posterity may thank its stars for them. If Sullivan had not been a gambler—if he had not enjoyed smart society (he enjoyed the very smartest)—if his way of life had not entailed a £500-a-year cook—the world might have had more Golden Legends from him and fewer masterpieces. Carte comes out of the story well, except for his folly in building an opera house (the Cambridge Circus house) without making any provision for a repertory. His genius as an impresario is illustrated by his enterprise in sending Oscar Wilde on a lecturing tour in America to stimulate interest in 'Patience: or, Bunthorne's Bride'.

A feature of interest in Mr. Baily's book is the inclusion of the texts (unfortunately not the music) of discarded pieces from the operettas, such as Strephon's song about the pick-pocket in 'Iolanthe'. The reader may not so much appreciate the author's sketches of the social background, which are simple and sometimes silly ("The French Revolution . . . was still fresh in Gilbert's memory", p. 314). 'Iolanthe'

"made fun of the sacred subject of British politics". When were our politics sacred? 'Utopia, Ltd.' was an explosion, "blowing up the institutions of Mr. Gilbert's own elegant Victorian world". A mild explosion! This is not the only place in which Mr. Baily mistakes the satirist for some sort of Jacobin.

Mr. Jacobs's little book is well written and makes some good critical points, but if he could have waited to see Mr. Baily's book he would not have gone to Offenbach or Hervé to find the source of Ko-ko's Willow Song in 'The Mikado'. Mr. Baily quotes for us this stanza from Nicholas Rowe (1674-1718):

To the Brook and the Willow that heard him complain,  
 Ah, Willow, Willow,  
 Poor Colin sat weeping and told them his pain,  
 Ah, Willow, Willow,  
 Sweet Stream, he cry'd sadly, I'll teach thee to flow;  
 And the waters shall rise to the brink with my woe,  
 Ah, Willow, Willow!

Ko-ko had evidently explored the byways of English literature.

R. C.

*Toscanini*. By Howard Taubman. pp. 352. (London: Odhams Press. 1951. 15s.)

The author, the music editor of 'The New York Times', has gone to great trouble in presenting a detailed account of Toscanini's career, and his book will always be a respected source of information. Here, for instance, we find the true story, with many interesting particulars, of the young Arturo's first appearance as a conductor—a story that is like a novelist's fiction—at Rio de Janeiro in 1886. No less strange, in its way, is the account given of the regimen at the Parma Conservatory, where Toscanini spent nine years of his young life (1876-85). All extra-curricular musical activity was forbidden, but

Some of his schoolfellows joined in a little orchestra which played secretly under Arturo's direction. When the transgressors were found out they were penalized with the loss of some of the few privileges they had. One of the penalties was being put on a diet of bread and water.

We get abundant illustrations of the great man's intransigence, of the power of his memory and of his tantrums. Even at the age of eighty-three

He threw watches to the floor and stamped on them until they were ground to bits. He took a valuable score and, with what seemed like maniacal deliberation, ripped out page after page . . . He kicked at the music stand near him so often that it was finally set in an iron brace to keep him from demolishing it. He would then pull and haul at the stand until it came loose, when he would pick it up and hurl it off the stage. And he walked out and locked himself in his dressing-room . . .

Mr. Taubman has a passage in which it is suggested that Toscanini's tantrums were calculated; they were a technical means of exciting the players to the desired pitch of intensity. But though this may have been the intention the tantrums sometimes got out of hand. There is a streak of something like insanity apparent in some of Mr. Taubman's anecdotes—in one, for instance, of an abandoned recording for the gramophone of Beethoven's Seventh Symphony. Something went wrong in the opening bars, and five minutes later Toscanini had thrown away his baton and

locked himself in his dressing-room. The fruitless session cost someone six thousand dollars.

The great man is revealed as surprisingly inconsistent. There have been times when he invited riots in Italy by refusing to allow encores; but this high and mighty line was not by any means adhered to invariably. And similarly with cuts. When he came out at La Scala, in 1898, with 'Die Meistersinger' he restored pages that had been cut; but he countenanced cuts in 'Der Ring'. We may wonder what Toscanini, that implacable censor of other conductors, would have said if another and not he had gone in for playing string quartets with the full orchestral strings.

Mr. Taubman is candid enough to put on record Toscanini's disconcerting practice of putting in an appearance at other conductors' rehearsals and making scenes—standing up and walking out ostentatiously, or objecting audibly to his deputy's methods.

Put in the best possible light, such behaviour indicated that where music and his orchestra were concerned Toscanini forgot normal, human impulses of kindness. It is probable that he could not restrain himself in such a situation. But the guest conductors might well ask: Did he have to attend their rehearsals?

It would have been impossible to put it more gently, but the point is made; and here is one of the things that leave the reader, impressed though he must be by this extraordinary life, not altogether captivated by Toscanini the man. To ask for sportsmanship of a great showman—the word is not disparaging, for there is no conducting without showmanship—is, no doubt, too much; but the question remains whether devotion to an artistic ideal is enough justification for the suppression of normal human kindness. There is a Toscanini-Furtwängler story here—the scene is Salzburg, the year 1937—which at this time of day strikes us as a very unfavourable reflection of Toscanini's character. A man with more capacity for normal human kindness would not have levelled such a cruel reproach at the unhappy Furtwängler. True, Toscanini had defied Mussolini and Furtwängler had come to terms with Hitler. But the cases were not strictly comparable, as a man of more generous mind than Toscanini would have appreciated.

By the time we reach the end of the book we are a little unhappy. Toscanini, all allow, has reached the top of the tree. It is saddening if, to achieve this kind of musical ascent, the suppression of kindly human impulses is involved. "Virtuoso of virtuosos" is the title of one of Mr. Taubman's chapters. Awful thought! Is there something morally ugly entailed in the highest ascents of virtuosity?

R. C.

*Claudio Monteverdi.* By Hans F. Redlich. Translated by Kathleen Dale. pp. 204. (London: Oxford University Press. 1952. 21s.)

This is a translation, with some additional material, of the author's German book published in Switzerland in 1949. It is divided into four sections: the stages of Monteverdi's career; the works; Monteverdi in the eyes of posterity; the problems of editing and performance. A series of appendixes contain lists of his works and of the main dates in his life, a bibliography, a glossary and so on, and there is an index of names. The book includes many musical illustrations, and eight rather fuzzy half-tone plates—portraits of the composer, facsimiles of some of his

music, and views of his house in Venice and of St. Mark's Square on a festival occasion.

The book contains much that is good, especially the account of Monteverdi's life, the copious and fluent translations from his fascinating letters (why not have included *all* the letters in an appendix?), the analyses of certain cardinal features of his style—his use of the descending fourth, of sequence and of unexpected dissonance—and, above all, the first adequate treatment of the problems confronting anyone who wishes to prepare a performing edition of his music. Dr. Redlich is well acquainted with these problems, and his 1934 edition of the 'Vespers of 1610' (published by Universal Edition, Vienna, in 1949) shows that he has some exciting notions of how to tackle them; during the last three or four years a wide English public has been introduced to this masterpiece, thanks to his imaginative reconstruction of its original sonorities. This section of the book alone would therefore stamp his study as an important contribution to our knowledge of the composer.

But the book as a whole is disfigured by some of the most outrageous examples of musicological and other jargon that this reviewer has yet encountered, jargon that is the more deplorable since it occurs in a book published under the imprint of the senior university press in the country. A jargon word is legitimate when it is reasonably concise and lacks a convenient English equivalent, or when it will have to be used many times in the course of an author's exposition. Apply these touchstones to the twenty-one words or phrases in Dr. Redlich's glossary and four (at most) stand the test: *Aufführungspraxis* (perhaps; though it is a quite detestable word and can usually be replaced by "performing tradition", or some similar phrase), *gorgia*, *passagio* (better with two g's), and *trionfo* (though "tattoo" might do). All the others turn out to be bastards. Words like *Testo* (which means no less and no more than "narrator", a word we have all got used to) and *Zufallsorchester* (i.e., any instruments that happen to be handy) trip and perplex the reader quite unnecessarily. And as for *Akzessorisches Pointenkolorit* . . .! Other jargon words lurk unexplained in crannies of the text: *pleinairisme*, *Cantor*, *General Bass*, for instance. References to e.g., "A. Striggio, jun." are just as slovenly; "the younger Striggio" is a perfectly exact phrase, and one that is less reminiscent of a list of school pupils.

There are some slipshod weaknesses in detail, too, that should have been corrected before this English edition appeared in print. P. 22: Monteverdi was a viol-player, not a viola-player. P. 54: the frottola did not make a feature of consecutive fifths; it was essentially conceived in terms of tune-and-bass, not tune-and-three-supporting-parts; and by 1594-1612 it was long past declining (p. 59), since it had in fact been dead and buried for some sixty or seventy years. P. 55: Willaert's "anticipation of monody" in publishing Verdelot's madrigals arranged for voice and lute (1536) acquires too much weight by being mentioned as though it were an isolated phenomenon. It is only one of a whole series of such publications appearing in France and Italy during the first four decades of the sixteenth century. P. 57: "the earliest specimen of Italian music written especially and exclusively for organ" was surely Marco Antonio Cavazzoni's book of 1523, not Girolamo's of 1542. And Girolamo was born in about 1524, not "c. 1500" (p. 56). P. 58: Gastoldi

did not die at the age of 106. Pp. 68 and 78: what are these vocal C-clefs doing here, when throughout the rest of the book they have been modernized? (Quite rightly, too!) Pp. 97 to 128: a blizzard of inaccuracies about musical instruments. Professor Westrup's masterly article, 'Monteverdi and the Orchestra' (*Music & Letters*, XXI, 230-45: not mentioned in the bibliography), would have set the author completely right. Meanwhile let it be noted that the "flautina alle (*sic*) vigesima seconda" is not a piccolo, "ceteroni" are not large zithers, "organi di legno" are not portative organs, "piffari" are by no means necessarily shawms (Dr. Redlich's favourite "theoretician", Praetorius, defines them correctly), "storte" are not serpents, and the accompanying instruments in the 'Combattimento' are not viols. Nor is the pizzicato in the same work the first time this device "emerges in practical composition". English composers for the lyra viol had been using it for twenty years. P. 103: these musical examples are certainly not *musique mesurée*. Pp. 131 and 157: free declamation of syllables on a single reciting note and elaborate vocalizations in trochee rhythm are characteristic of such typically Roman works as Severi's 'Salni passaggiati' of 1615—one of many books of the same kind—and Monteverdi's use of these devices derives from the Roman *falso-bordone* tradition, it seems, rather than from Florentine principles of nice declamation. Moreover, such passages in Monteverdi would seem to demand the use of solo voices, if the Roman style is to be taken as a guide. P. 203: this is not an "index of Monteverdi's works" (would that it were; lists like those at the back of Westrup's book on Purcell are invaluable); it is a "list of those works I have mentioned in my book", which is another matter altogether.

Both Redlich and Schrade have views on the meaning of the curious term "canto alla francese", sometimes used by Monteverdi. Redlich (pp. 10, 89, 141) maintains that it refers to the special characteristics of the musical style of the "airs de cour" by men such as Lejeune or Guédron. An interesting remark in Canal's study on the history of music in Mantua<sup>1</sup> (not in Redlich's bibliography, despite the fact that Monteverdi worked at Mantua for twenty-two years) perhaps throws some light on the matter. Rasi's sister and pupil, Sabina, had been trained to sing in the Italian manner, when the Duke of Mantua ordered her to learn "cantar alla francese". Rasi wrote a letter of protest to the Duke, saying that if the Duke persisted in his demands Sabina "will lose all the charm of the Italian style which she has spent two years in learning. . . . The Spanish style enhances the Italian as much as the French style detracts from it, filling it with many ugly gestures such as contorting the mouth, moving the shoulders, etc.". Surely this can only mean that "canto alla francese" was a style of performance, not of composition.

A paragraph or two in Part III might usefully have been devoted to Monteverdi in seventeenth-century England, especially in a book published in this country. Monteverdi's influence is clearly to be seen in the music of John Coperario and Walter Porter, reputedly Monteverdi's pupil. Peacham's praise of him in 1622 as an "Author very excellent

<sup>1</sup>I am indebted to Nigel Fortune for drawing my attention to this reference; it may be found at p. 88 of Canal's book.

... equal to any before named"; Mace's inclusion of "one Monteverde, a Famous Italian Author" in the list of composers for viol consort to be found in his 'Musick's Monument' (1676); the madrigals to be found, without words, in such collections of viol music as Christ Church MSS. 404-8, 527-30 and 1024 or Marsh's Library MSS. Z.3.4.7-12, side by side with fantasies by English composers like Tomkins, Jenkins, Ward and Brewer; Tregian's scoring of many madrigals in his anthology: evidence of this kind adds up to a good deal, and ought not to have been overlooked.

T. D.

*Second Movement.* By Spike Hughes. pp. 340. (London: Museum Press. 1951. 16s.)

This, the second instalment of the author's autobiography, takes up the tale where he left it in 'Opening Bars'. In 1929-33 he was still a very young man. He now looks back upon years spent in what he calls the "musical half-world"—the world of dance-bands, revues and cheap gramophone records, of illiterate composers, of bandboys who subtracted bottles of champagne from the smart houses where they were employed, of double-basses played *sempre pizzicato*—with a certain satisfaction and a characteristic humour. A musician who can put his finger unerringly on the weak spot in Toscanini's performance of 'The Magic Flute', he was seriously interested in the dance-music of twenty years ago, to the point of organizing a band and composing for it.

It was a passing infatuation. "Jazz," he now says, "interests me little these days. I look back on my activities in this sphere of music with the affection with which one looks back on a love-affair or one's schoolboy enthusiasm for stamp collecting." He is a *laudator temporis acti*. Jazz, so bright and promising in its springtime, has entered into a decline. What is now called Swing or Be-hop "is a fantastic travesty and degradation of all that we believed in twenty years ago". When did the decay set in? In 1930 it was a point of honour with all who practised the so-called Hot Chorus to be tuneful in their methods. This principle became undermined, and the aim of most soloists to-day is "to shatter the theme into fragments... The result is pure musical chaos, a shrieking, undisciplined and unpleasant noise whose performance is greeted by the hysterical adulation of shrieking, undisciplined adolescents".

It is not too much to say that this fond look-back to the heyday provides a real contribution to the history of popular music, this phase of which might have disappeared into oblivion without such an analyst. Those who may say that it is not worth remembering are answered by the queeriness of the characters who turn up in Mr. Hughes's memoirs and by fantastic episodes in his own experiences, for instance, a tour he undertook in Holland with a band which was not, strictly speaking, the band the Dutch hosts had been promised. The chapter "International Incident" tells a tale that is nothing to be proud of, but it is certainly funny. Earnest jazz enthusiasts came not to dance but to listen, and an evening at the Concertgebouw was a disaster. Those who have, with the hope of broadening their minds, listened to such concerts with cold dismay will be glad of Mr. Hughes's assurance that, "Jazz must be danced to... Played in cold blood... it is merely a bore".

R. C.

## REVIEWS OF MUSIC

*The Complete Works of Joseph Haydn.* Critical Edition. The Haydn Society, Inc. Series XXIII. Vol. I. Masses No. 1-4. Edited by Carl Maria Brand. Series I. Vol. 10. Symphonies No. 88-92. Edited by H. C. Robbins Landon. (1951.)

During recent months two new volumes have been issued by the Haydn Society. Their format is similar to that of the volume of Paris symphonies which preceded them, and their standard of scholarship is as high, or even better. The labour involved in editing any piece of classical music faithfully is great—the search for the best sources, the comparison of those sources one with another, the thousand and one decisions required to achieve a pure text—and then, when one remembers that in the case of Haydn these difficulties are about doubled, the devoted work which has gone to produce these splendid volumes becomes almost awe-inspiring. Dr. Brand was already marked out as the man to edit Haydn's Masses by his book 'Die Messen von Joseph Haydn', published at Berlin in 1939. Now, under the general editorship of Professor Larsen, Haydn's first four extant Masses have been presented by Dr. Brand in a scrupulously careful text, enriched by 73 pages of notes and variants. The outstanding event is that the *Missa Brevis* in F, of 1749-50, and the *Missa in honorem Beatissimae Virginis Mariae*, composed about 1766, are here printed in full score for the first time. This fact alone would give the volume a special claim to the goodwill of music-lovers, strengthened by the presence of the two Masses following, which are only a little less unknown in score. They are the great cantata mass, the *Missa Sanctae Ceciliae* of 1769-73, and the lovely *Missa Sancti Nicolai* of 1772, works glowing with music.

Very wisely the Haydn Society has printed the *Missa Brevis* in its original form for two soprano soloists, four-part chorus, two violins, violoncello and organ, promising that the later version, rescored by Haydn in his old age for a larger orchestra, shall be published in a supplementary volume along with the authentic second version of the *Schöpfungsmesse*. Dr. Brand, in the course of his recensions, seems to have been rather worried by Haydn's part-writing. At times it shows, he says, a certain helplessness "which illustrates the imperfect technique of the young master". The defects include a pair of consecutive fifths, and sevenths ditto. Being a faithful editor Dr. Brand prints them, but tactfully offers the correct alternatives. Haydn did not care two hoots, however, about forbidden progressions, for he kept the offending notes in his second version.

Robbins Landon's volume contains the five symphonies which bridge the years between Haydn's Paris and London series. Flanked at beginning and end by "Letter V", No. 88, and the equally beloved Oxford symphony, the three intervening works are fully as beautiful, but hitherto strangely neglected. Yet once heard, who could resist the Mozartian appeal of the second subject in the first movement of the symphony in

F, No. 89, or the elegant charm of its slow movement, to say nothing of the dancing lilt of its Minuet and Trio, and the lively Finale? The autograph score of this delightful work, by the way, is in the Fitzwilliam Museum. The symphony in C, No. 90, has a fine set of Variations for its slow movement and fascinating harmonic subtleties elsewhere. In the E $\flat$  symphony, No. 91, Haydn gives free play to both intellect and imagination for the first subject of the Allegro assai is a simultaneous melodic presentation of the chromatic and diatonic scales of E $\flat$  major in contrary motion, while in the second subject group there is an enchanting modulation to D $\flat$  major, which shows where Schubert learnt a little of his magic. Altogether this volume is one on which its editor and the Haydn Society are to be congratulated.

M. M. S.

*String Quartet No. 1.* By Malcolm Arnold. Score. (Lengnick, 5s. 9d.)  
*String Quartet No. 2.* By Stanley Bate. Score. (Lengnick, 6s.)  
*Elegy and Toccata.* For Violin and Piano. By Lennox Berkeley. (Chester, 2s. 6d. and 3s. 6d.) *Three Inventions.* For Flute and Oboe. By Gordon Jacob. Miniature Score. (Williams, 2s. 6d.) *Sonata.* For Violin and Piano. By Kenneth Leighton. (Lengnick, 7s.)  
*Suite for Viola and Cello.* By Ivor Walsworth. (O.U.P., 5s.) *Fantasia Cromatica.* By Bach, arranged for Viola solo by Kodály. (Boosey & Hawkes, 2s. 6d.) *Praeludium.* By Bach, arranged for Viola and Piano by Bernard Shore and Frederic Westcott. (Boosey & Hawkes, 3s. 6d.)

It is disturbing to encounter a string quartet such as this of Arnold's where a technique that lacks nothing in assurance seems to be recklessly applied to the expression of nothing in particular. The whole work gives one a curious feeling of irrelevance—but not incoherence, because the composer knows as much as the next man of the technique of inventing texture by the willy-nilly use of phrases in canon and inversion. There are some strikingly bizarre effects of colour, and the general effect is of an interesting talent that has experienced no deep creative urge, at least on this occasion. Far less pretentious, but lucid, charming and accessible, is Stanley Bate's work. The outer movements are gay and shapely, mixing broad effects with harmonic sophistications. It appears from the score that both the middle movements are *con sordini* throughout, which seems excessive even in so comparatively short a work. And in the slow movement there is perhaps too much reliance on solo passages as transitions. But these are matters of taste and do not seriously vitiate a very pleasant work. In his Violin Sonata Kenneth Leighton shows us a more passionate art than in his admirable Sonatinas for piano. The range of his harmony is extended as well, and he shows himself able to build paragraphs which cumulate with fine effect. The first movement, in particular, sweeps on in the grand manner. One or two harmonic tricks, especially the frequent parallel chords of the sixth, are tending to become commonplaces, and one hopes that Leighton's high promise will soon allow him to dispense with them. The work is well written for both instruments.

Berkeley's two short violin pieces make a contrasted pair, the *Elegy* being a well-sustained melody with colourful and whimsical touches of harmony, and the *Toccata* a bright piece, not exceptionally difficult, and

lively in rhythm and harmony, being, in the nature of the case, little concerned with melody. When one sees a composer choose a combination like Ivor Walsworth's one expects an essay in the mortification of the flesh. But the surprisingly diverse colours of these eight short pieces and their effortlessly ingratiating style—achieved, moreover, without excessive technical demands—show a talent of a high order. Gordon Jacob has so often proved himself that his technique is taken for granted. In these three short pieces he flirts with bi-tonality, but with a re-assuring and indeed jovial air.

When we join Tovey in admiration of Bach's superb one-line counterpoint we are confronted with his painting of the lily by taking the famous prelude from the E major partita for solo violin, transposing it to D and allotting it to the organ with three trumpets and strings, in which form it is the Sinfonia to Church Cantata No. 29. There is thus no strong objection to transposing it to A major for the viola and accompanying it with a pianoforte arrangement of the sinfonia parts, especially as in this form it makes a capital concert piece. Kodály quotes von Bülow to the effect that the Chromatic Fantasia is not for those who cannot read between the lines. The opening sits finely on the viola, but much reading between the lines will never disguise the scrawny substitution of a viola for rolling arpeggios with all the couplers on. There is, moreover, a curious elongation of the last cadence, in poor taste.

*Done for and Miss Cherry.* Songs for medium voice to words by Walter de la Mare. By Roger Fiske. (O.U.P., 3s. and 3s. 6d.) *Weathers* (Thomas Hardy). By Roger Fiske. (O.U.P., 3s. 6d.) *Spring* (Thomas Nashe). By John Raynor. (O.U.P., 3s.) *Down by the Salley Gardens* (Yeats). By Mary Plumstead. (Curwen, 2s. 6d.)

Roger Fiske's songs are certainly those of a premeditated art, but have much originality and melodic charm. The piano accompaniments are full of pleasant surprises, and the rhythms of the words are meticulously observed, at the expense of some sophistication in 'Miss Cherry'. John Raynor is sometimes careless in this respect, but has a pleasant turn of melody in a mainly strophic song. In yet another 'Salley Gardens' Mary Plumstead writes a simple and grateful tune, with a few patches of undistinguished harmony, perhaps an illustration of taking life easy.

*Pieces for Geraldine.* For piano. By Benjamin Frankel. (Augener, 3s.) *Partita in F sharp.* For piano. By Peter Wishart. (O.U.P., 6s. 6d.) *Jupiter, Saturn and Uranus.* For two pianos. By Gustav Holst. (Curwen, 7s. 6d., 5s. and 7s. 6d.)

Frankel's three short pieces are technically easy but full of interest, despite the apparently inconsequent scheme of tonality of the first two, which give the impression of charming but wilful extemporization. The third, 'Bed-time piece for Judy' is a graceful lullaby, in the plainest A major throughout but, for no apparent reason, without key signature. Of little greater length but more musical substance are Wishart's pieces, entitled 'Prelude', 'Burlesca', 'Aria' and 'Capriccio'. These display a lively imagination and their harmony is distinguished by some unusual devices of spacing and of diatonic dissonance, which however do not

obtrude to the detriment of the melodic writing. Again the technical demands are but moderate. 'The Planets' continue to appear in two-piano form. Written by Holst on four staves they may be, but it is hard to suppose that he ever conceived them as two-piano music. It is only when the music moves fairly fast, as in some of 'Jupiter' and 'Uranus', that any satisfactory effect can be made, and the best of the suite by far—although difficult—is 'Mercury'.

*Jesu, Joy and Treasure.* Cantata for Soli (Soprano or Tenor, Bass) and S.A.T.B. with instrumental accompaniment. By Buxtehude, edited by Robert Groves. Vocal Score. (Hinrichsen. 3s.) *King Arthur and the Saxons.* Operetta by Purcell, arranged for equal voices in two parts by W. Gillies Whittaker and Jane Dawkins. Vocal Score. (O.U.P. 8s.) *Carmen Funebre*, by Samuel Wesley, edited by Stainton de B. Taylor. (Hinrichsen. 2s. 6d.) *Pilgrim Song.* For S.A.T.B. with Piano or Organ. By Thomas Pitfield. (Augener. 6d.) *Laughing Song.* Two-part song with piano. By Ernest Walker. Joseph Williams. 9d.)

Buxtehude's 'Jesu, meine Freude' is more than an interesting precursor of the chorale variations in Bach's famous motet. It is a noble work in its own right, and one that is within the reach of choirs that could not undertake Bach's. The original accompaniment is for violins in two parts, bassoon and organ continuo; and these parts are available. The vocal score is laid out for piano or organ. The work begins with an instrumental "sonata", consisting of two fugal Allegro movements separated by a solemn chordal *grave*. The first verse is given to the choir with instrumental ritornelli. Next come two solos, each a robust and florid expansion of the tune, the variations being traced rather by the keys of the cadences than by direct quotation. Purcell would have admired both of them. A bottom D is required of the bass; this could be evaded, though the bottom E is clearly required for the wonderful last line, "though in wrath they mutter". The fourth verse is a vigorous choral variation in triple time with frequent hemiola rhythms at cadences, which the editor has done well to insist upon, since they lend a thrilling impact to the words. The fifth verse, "Fare thee well", is given a tender solo setting, showing, as Bach does, an amusing reluctance to part with worldly joys. The last verse is a massively plain harmonization. The English words only are given, in Sanford Terry's translation.

With so much of Purcell's finest music buried in silly pantomimes one must welcome an attempt to rescue it, particularly when the genius is as consistently powerful as in 'King Arthur'. If one considers 'Come if you dare', 'Shepherd, shepherd, leave decoying', 'Fairest Isle' and—perhaps the most enchanting tune Purcell ever wrote—'How blest are shepherds' as samples of what 'King Arthur' contains, one is driven to the conclusion that as a writer of operatic tunes only Mozart is in the same class. But the editors have seen that a concert version is a maimed offering, since for all the puerility and bombast of the libretti Purcell shows a decided flair for the stage. To this end the arrangement has been equipped with invaluable hints on production, with lists of properties and sketches of costumes. Soloists are essential only in the first scene. The chorus parts have been boiled down to two lines (S.A. or T.B.) and

the instrumental accompaniment is laid out either for strings with piano or for piano alone, thus bringing it, as the editors hope, within the range of schools, institutes and clubs. Some of the original will not fit this scheme, the entire Frost Scene being cut, for instance. But the dramatic scheme is greatly strengthened by the postponement of the battle. In short the work is admirably done and deserves a success. And all will surely relish that wonderful couplet: "Fame acquiring, By expiring".

A wonderful rediscovery is that of the elder Wesley's 'Carmen Funebre' for S.S.A.T.B., for which the editor wisely recommends and supplies a discreet organ accompaniment on continuo lines. Its cumulative power resides in the repeated rhythm of "omnia vanitas", which begins the piece, accompanies the succeeding fugato and interrupts it with insistent force. The music thus moves in a grand sweep, without a weak bar, to a striking and noble cadence. English words are provided.

Thomas Pitfield sets Bunyan's well-known 'Who would true valour see' in suitably sturdy fashion. The style is diatonic, with the familiar flattened leading-note appearing frequently. The music achieves a spacious close, but "be" is hardly a suitable word for so long a melisma.

An early piece (1897) by Ernest Walker is his 'Laughing Song', just re-issued. It is the sixth of his settings of Blake's Songs of Innocence, Op. 7. The voice parts are of equal compass, and small choirs or duettists will find them truly grateful. The piano part is sufficiently interesting, musically and technically, to punish the casual approach.

*Little Partita.* For String Orchestra. By Sven Böhlm. *Rondo fugato.* For Orchestra. By Gunnar Ek. *Four Vignettes for 'The Winter's Tale'.* For small Orchestra. By Lars-Erik Larsson. *Concerto for Orchestra.* By Hilding Rosenberg. (Gehrmans, Stockholm. All available through Francis, Day & Hunter.) *Symphony.* By Lennox Berkeley. Miniature Score. (Chester, 12s. 6d.) *Pages Intimes.* Op. 55. For small orchestra. By Joseph Jongen. Full Score. (Chester, 10s.) *Elegiac Meditation.* For viola and string orchestra. By Robin Milford. Score, including piano reduction. (O.U.P., 6s. 6d.) *Divertimento.* By Stravinsky. Full Score. (Boosey & Hawkes, 25s.)

Most considerable among the Swedish scores is Rosenberg's Concerto. He uses the title, the orchestra and—to a somewhat milder extent—the texture in Bartók's fashion. The work was written in 1949 for festival use and is a notable occasional piece, depending largely on orchestral bravura. Given this, it should be exciting, especially in its bustling first movement where the orchestra is thrown about in a virtuoso manner that reminds one of the young Shostakovich. The harmony is sometimes severe, but the romantic rhetorician often peeps out, especially in the slow movement. Ek's 'Rondo Fugato' is the finale of his second symphony. It is a high-spirited, loose-limbed piece, brightly and economically scored, maintaining a fine rhythmic energy until its surprising close. It would make a good end to a concert. Far from these exertions are Böhlm's three little pieces. The first movement is well constructed and has some interesting harmony and scoring, all in a diatonic vein; but the other movements appear naïve and melodically undistinguished. Larsson's 'Vignettes',

which do not need Shakespeare's context, are entitled 'Siciliana', 'Intermezzo', 'Pastoral' and 'Epilogue'. Their texture throughout is delightfully euphonious, particularly in the feathery intermezzo for strings without double-bass. The short suite (nine minutes) is an ideal one for small orchestra (two trumpets are scored, but they play in unison); it equals the simple charms of Sibelius's incidental music and is less difficult technically.

The nineteenth-century cult of the symphony which almost inhibited Brahms has probably left many symphonies unwritten for lack of a message, or, failing that, of the weight considered proper since Beethoven's day. This tendency has even led some critics to view with suspicion works like Vaughan Williams's Sixth or John Gardner's First symphony, which have sufficient rhetorical power to make a large part of their effect at first hearing—surely an odd reason for criticism of any work of art. Since he discarded the somewhat rigid phrase-lengths of his early style, Lennox Berkeley has shown himself one of our most original composers, and he embarks upon a symphony with a winning freshness of manner. Were this notice illustrated with quotations of themes they might well appear to the reader as quite unsuitable for symphonic use. What is more, whole pages give the impression, especially in the first movement, of the scoring being broken up into a series of mere ejaculations. Yet the general effect of the outer movements is of an irresistible vitality. An Allegretto in the style of a waltz comes second and the third movement, Adagio, is solemn and dramatic. Robin Milford prefaces his work with Wordsworth: "Have I not reason to lament what man has made of man?" Yet the listener need not fear that he will meet yet again that often inevitable but rarely pleasing thing—the mirror of his age. Here is a grave and shapely threnody, not a dance round the prickly pear, and it has the consolations of distinguished harmony which uses concords when they are required. The work is quite short (seven minutes) and is the best we have seen from Milford's pen. Jongen's suite of three miniatures for small orchestra (single wood-wind and one horn) is a superior kind of light music, harmonically conventional but nicely scored. Stravinsky's *Divertimento* is the concert suite from the music of the ballet 'Le Baiser de la Fée' (1928), which was founded on themes by Tchaikovsky. The four movements are 'Sinfonia', 'Danses Suisses', 'Scherzo' and 'Pas de deux'. This seems to be one of the rare occasions on which music can be touched by Stravinsky and remain on the whole undistinguished, in spite of some exquisite scoring. There is poetry in the Adagio section of the last movement, but the 'Danses Suisses' offer little more than a slight dislocation of Tchaikovsky. Compared with the 'Fire-bird' suite, for instance, this mild affair lacks brio. We have, in fact, left Russia for Switzerland.

I. K.

*Venus' Praise.* For Chorus and String Orchestra. By Bruce Montgomery. Vocal score. (Novello, 5s.)

This setting of seven English lyrics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is similar in scope and style to Bliss's 'Pastoral' and Bush's 'Summer Serenade'. Both the poems and their settings are arranged in effective contrast, and form a well-balanced whole. The singer's task is not always an easy one—considerable mental and vocal agility is

called for by reason of intervals within the melodic line, although the range of each voice and the effective "lie" of each voice is carefully considered throughout. This type of work—of a "pristine" nature—will be welcome by choral societies. How sensible the composer is to restrict his accompaniment to a string orchestra, and thus put it within reach of the average choral society!

*Sinfonietta*. For Small Orchestra. By Gordon Jacob. (Williams's Miniature Scores. No. 6. 10s. 6d.)

This work, written in 1944, is scored for doubled woodwind, horns and trumpets, one trombone, timpani, six percussion instruments and strings. This is the perfect miniature score—so clear that a full-sized score would be almost a luxury. The work is in three separate movements; the first is built on a bell-like figure, and is kept very much alive by syncopated interjections. The Siciliana rhythm of the second (slow) movement is very persistent—both the F# minor and B minor tunes have it, and relief is offered only by the different accompanimental figures. The last movement (D major) is a bustling 6/8 affair, and the contrasting middle section (G# major) gives it the taste of a scherzo-trio-scherzo movement. There are occasional deft touches in the scoring, but on the whole it is very much "out of the book".

*Concerto for violin and orchestra*. By Alan Bush. Arr. for vln. and pfte. by the composer. (J. Williams. 18s. 6d.) *Concerto for violin and orchestra*. By P. Racine Fricker. Arr. for vln. and pfte. (Schott.)

Alan Bush could not be accused by a modernist of the moderns of putting a hummable tune into this concerto. There is a close approximation to one in the cantabile theme in the first movement, but it does not remain in the category for more than about half-a-dozen bars. It is certainly the work of a craftsman, but not of a craftsman who loves his tools. The first movement is vicious, the second is dark, and the last becomes almost human at some points—in fact, between figures 53 and 55 it almost forgets itself. But if we read the Note inside the cover we are told that the soloist represents the individual; the orchestra, human society; how, in the first movement the "individual strives to impose his will upon society", and so on. With this moral as a background we must take what is coming to us.

Fricker's violin concerto is a hard nut to crack. Vital? Depicts the spirit of the age? But more than these are necessary to constitute a work of art. Surely beauty must be present in some form. From the way in which some contemporary critics have lauded this composer's work, beauty may well be present in a form which is apparent to some but not to others. Fascinating rhythms are here; phrases which, because of their rhythmic and melodic shape, are convincing. But the determined and arrogant dissonance which is placed against them eats into their very bones. The blood which is pumped through the veins of this music is neither thick nor warm. After hearing this work last year I was left with the impression that its main characteristic lay in the fact that the solo part was normally a semitone away from the most dominating orchestral instrument or harmonic colour which was prevailing at the time. The printed copy confirms that impression. There is hardly one beat

in the work which has not the harmonic interval of either a minor second, major seventh or minor ninth. The arrangement for violin and piano is, in fact, a reduction from the score, and not a practical piano part.

*Missa Brevis.* For Mixed Chorus and Orchestra. By Zoltán Kodály. Full score. (Boosey & Hawkes, 30s.) *The Song of the Redeemed.* For Chorus and Orchestra. By John Somers-Cocks. Vocal score. Augener, 4s.)

Kodály's fine work is already familiar to many through the vocal score and now this clear, well-printed full score is available. It will be a pity if the very high soprano semi-chorus parts in the *Agnus Dei* should prevent this work from achieving the popularity which is its due.

The text of 'The Song of the Redeemed' is taken from the Moffatt translation of Psalm CVII—which, we are warned, is heavily guarded by its publishers. There is some good choral writing in this work, and the only example of unsatisfactory word-stressing is at "satisfies" (tenor, page 9). It is difficult to see why F♯'s and B's are used for the voices in bar 237. The tonality of the passage is C♯ major, and the enharmonic change on this last chord is a wilful act! One cannot but feel that the size of the orchestra may put this composition out of the reach of most choral societies. Would not composers of works of this kind (duration, 16 minutes) do well to provide a reduced score as an alternative, or adopt the cue-in policy more extensively? How many choral societies can afford up to four horns and three trombones? A note tells us that we may omit piccolo and double bassoon, but this is cold comfort!

*Quintet in D.* For pianoforte and strings. By Franz Reizenstein. (Lengnick, 25s.) *Sinfonia Concertante.* By Bohuslav Martinu. Full score. (Boosey & Hawkes, 30s.) *Theme and Variations.* For string Orchestra. By Thomas B. Pitfield. Miniature score. (Augener, 4s.) *Prelude and Fugue.* For 18-part string orchestra. By Benjamin Britten. Full score. (Boosey & Hawkes, 16s.)

Reizenstein's quintet shows him to be completely at home on a large canvas. All four movements are extended. The harmonic vocabulary is a full one, and many will find the idiom unfamiliar and rather hard-going. But in the main the dissonance is the result of horizontal progress. All four movements are bursting with imitative counterpoint. Even the Scherzo—which seems to try hard to avoid it—eventually finds itself taking part in a fugal exposition! The last movement goes the whole hog, with strettos, augmentation and the rest. Perhaps the strongest characteristic of the work is the importance of the interval of the fourth. The listener will not go away with many hummable tunes. A skilful work, which would require several hearings to be understood fully.

Martinu's *Sinfonia* is a disappointment from so established a composer. Most of the material is conventional, and its treatment is mainly undistinguished. Of the three movements the second (slow) is the most effective. Some surprisingly worn-out passages appear in the first movement (pp. 6, 9 and 20), and the last movement uses scale-passages and arpeggios to excess.

Pitfield's work is in the nature of a suite. The theme does not offer much promise for variation treatment, and this becomes crystal-clear as the work progresses. The composer seems to have restricted himself to the use of the first three bars for his development. This would suggest that the Theme (*a*) might have been shorter and more defined, (*b*) might also have contained some characteristics other than a melodic one (*i.e.* rhythmic or harmonic). Var. I (Minuet and Trio) contains some unattractive harmonies in the Minuet. The trio is a canon on a static bass. Var. II (Air and Canon) is quasi-modal. Var. III is a Mazurka—still based on the first three bars of the Theme—in which the tune tries to assert its modal flavour against an unmodal accompaniment. The tune wins the first round. A visit to two extreme keys brings us home again, and the fight begins again. (This time the tune enters the ring in augmentation against the mazurka-rhythm of the accompaniment.) Modality loses heavily in the end. Var. IV (Hymn) is "folky". Var. V (Finale) is based on the first two bars of the theme, and there is considerable academic ingenuity here. The theme is repeated *in toto* at the end. This seems neither necessary nor justifiable in a work of this length. Some of the string writing is very effective.

Britten wrote his Prelude and Fugue for the Boyd Neel Orchestra on the occasion of its tenth birthday in 1943. Here is another example of the composer's mastery over whatever medium he is confronted with. The greater part of the Prelude is two-part work—a violin solo, above a single part in octaves by the remainder of the strings. But it is the accompaniment, not the solo, which is characteristic—the insistent use of the nostalgic augmented second rising to the third of the chord. The Fugue is a tour-de-force. Each set of instruments is treated as a block in its entries, each instrument of the block entering with the subject at one-bar intervals, a minor or a major third higher at each entry. In the middle section, when all instruments are employed, complete clarity is achieved by reason of the contrasting material which the different sets of instruments employ—first violins have the triplet semiquaver material from the subject, second violins and violas have new material in longer note-values, which they treat in close canon, cellos and basses have an arpeggio quaver figure, which they play pizzicato. A very ingenious stretto over a double-bass ostinato (itself from the subject) precedes the climax of the work, which is both masterly and exciting.

B. W. G. R.

*Shepherds all, and Shepherdesses* (S.A.T.B.) By Guillaume Costeley, edited by Charles Kennedy Scott. (O.U.P., 6d.) *Cease your bitter weeping.* (S.S.A.) (1s.) *Norwegian Girls.* (S.A.T.B.) (10d.) *Songs from Karad.* (T.B.B.) (1s. 3d.) *Soldier's song.* (T.B.B. with trumpet and side drum.) (7d.) *The Peacocks.* (T.B.B.) (7d.) *The Bachelor.* (T.B.B.) (10d.) All by Zoltán Kodály. (Boosey and Hawkes.) *Welcome Joy and Welcome Sorrow.* (S.S.A. and Harp or piano.) By Imogen Holst. (O.U.P., 3s.) *A Festival Te Deum.* For Chorus and Organ (or orchestra). By Robin Orr. (O.U.P., 1s. 6d.) *Money Talks.* For T. Bar. B.B. and piano. By Ian Parrott. (Elkin, 8d.) *The Nativity.* For Soprano and Alto Soli, optional Mezzo-soprano, Tenor and Bass Soli, S.A.T.B. Chorus and Strings (Piano or Organ). By Elizabeth Poston. (O.U.P., 6s. 6d.) *Six carols.* For S.A.B. and

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Of the Christmas music the most sizeable is the sequence arranged by Elizabeth Poston from a text compiled and edited by Terence Tiller. Its title-page makes the work appear more formidable than it is, for it has been so skilfully laid out that it is within the scope of quite modest resources and—an important consideration, this—it can be accompanied by the single keyboard instrument without appreciable loss of effect. Most of the music and all the words are old. Elizabeth Poston has laid on them gentle hands, being mainly content to follow Vaughan Williams. (After all, the alternative is something more personal and less suitable.) But her short interludes and choral illuminations are neat and affecting and her original pieces, especially her haunting setting of 'Jesu, sweet son', have a distinguished beauty.

Robin Orr's *Te Deum* is dedicated to a highly skilled body of singers. This has tempted the composer to throw his voices about in imaginative abandon and, at times, unscrupulous dissonance. It is perhaps unfair to discuss a "festival" *Te Deum* as though it were a liturgical one, but the music is full of obtrusive idiosyncrasies perhaps better employed in another context. In general the work strikes one as an interesting collection of raw material.

The six part-songs to Keats's poems by Imogen Holst were first performed this year at Aldeburgh. Written for S.S.A. and harp, they stand the comparison with Britten's 'Ceremony of Carols' very well. The composer has never put her first-hand knowledge of choral writing to better use, her mastery being clearly shown in the effortless way she can obtain new and worthwhile effects while writing parts which, on the whole, are easy enough for a good village choir.

Both Ian Parrott and Percy Young contribute pieces whose distinction commands attention against all the limits of time and space. In particular the second of Dr. Young's pieces, the duet for two sopranos entitled 'The Ride-by-Nights', is a remarkable work of swift imagination.

Kodály's pieces introduce a fresh flavour to the male-voice repertory. They are not very difficult. It is not clear to what extent the music is original, but if it is all by Kodály it seems to bear the same relationship to Hungarian folk-song as 'Linden Lea' does to English. The other two songs are more difficult but speak a more personal note, 'Norwegian Girls', in particular, has an atmosphere worth capturing.

Finally we find the Oxford University Press cashing in on defeatism and issuing the S.A.B. song-book, with which can be coupled Leslie Woodgate's carol arrangements, "for choirs without tenors". Cowen, one supposes, is already turning in his grave. But the choirmasters who have to accept the gloomy premise of the editor, Dr. Jacques, or else do without mixed choirs altogether will rejoice in a collection which in the first volume includes classical pieces, national and folk songs, shanties, rounds and canons, and in the second more folk songs, hymns and carols. The settings range from simple accompanied ones, with the tune in the bass, to unaccompanied work of moderate difficulty.

I. K.

## CORRESPONDENCE

*To the Editor of 'Music & Letters'*

### BEETHOVEN AND KOZELUCH

Sir,

Otto Erich Deutsch's letter in your January issue, and particularly his remarks on my edition of the Beethoven Rondo in B $\flat$  for piano solo (Ascherberg, 1950), calls for a reply from me. Against Mr. Deutsch's use of the word "spurious", in relation to the Beethoven work, I protest strongly.\* I am surprised that Mr. Deutsch should pursue this question without providing the musical world with more evidence than he has so far published in his various contributions on the subject in *MUSIC & LETTERS* since his first article in your issue of January, 1945.

I should have replied immediately to his original article, in which he maintained that the two Beethoven piano duets, 'Gavotte' and 'Allegro' (published—or should I say "reprinted"?—under my editorship by Curwen in 1941/2) were by Kozeluch and not by Beethoven, but for the fact that I wished first to re-examine the original MSS. This, however, was not possible until the British Museum MSS., which had been evacuated for the duration of the war, returned from their extended hibernation in Wales. By the time this repatriation occurred, I was pleased to find that Georges de Saint-Foix—who had originally established Beethoven's authorship of all four works—had taken up the cudgels on my behalf in an article he contributed to *MUSIC & LETTERS* in January 1946. I decided, therefore, to leave well alone, despite the fact that Saint-Foix did not, in my opinion, do full justice to the case, as I shall endeavour to show.

The main question at the moment is whether the Rondo in B $\flat$  is by Beethoven. In his original article Mr. Deutsch maintained that the two piano duets, together with the opening two or three bars of another duet, 'Marcia Lugubre', were arrangements by some person unknown of corresponding numbers from the piano score of a ballet by Kozeluch. His article ends as follows:

After the final attribution of the three duets to Kozeluch, it was very tempting to look for the piano Trio and the Rondo among Kozeluch's works; but with the available material the search was in vain. As may be imagined, however, the genuineness of these two works became subject to suspicion. If these suspicions should ever be justified, one would be inclined to ask, in connection with Beethoven, what Goethe asked himself when he spoke, in the 'Xenien', of his indebtedness to ancestors:

"Was ist denn an dem ganzen Wicht  
Original zu nennen?"

"Subject to suspicion"! This Parthian shot represents the sum total of

\*The Editor of *MUSIC & LETTERS* owes apologies all round. The word "spurious" should have appeared as "dubious", and would have done so but for the mislaying of a late proof.

Mr. Deutsch's evidence on which he bases his allegations against Beethoven's authorship of the Rondo. Surely the flimsiest of grounds! Does it not savour of presumption to express surprise that Professor Keys, not to mention the B.B.C. Third Programme authorities and other musicians of serious calibre, should have preferred to accept the evidence in favour of the Beethoven attribution provided by such scholars as Georges de Saint-Foix and Sir Donald Tovey, rather than Mr. Deutsch's "suspicions," devoid as these are of a shred of evidence? He also refers, in quotation marks, to Louis Kentner's "first world performance", at York, on October 12, 1950, and his "first broadcast" of the "spurious Beethoven piece" on the 29th of that month in the Third Programme. Why the quotation marks, as though there were any doubt about the first performances? If he has any proof that the Rondo had in fact been publicly performed and broadcast previously, I shall be grateful to hear of it. Similarly, if he has any evidence, in contradistinction to his "suspicions", to prove that the Rondo (or, for that matter, the as yet un-"reprinted" Trio) is not by Beethoven, and that it is therefore by Kozeluch or anybody else, more than a few people will feel grateful for its production.

I notice that Alfred Einstein states, in his 1947 edition of Köchel, that Mr. Deutsch "proves" in his January, 1945, article in *MUSIC & LETTERS* that *all four* works are by Kozeluch. These are the words of the Köchel entry:

Wie Otto Erich Deutsch (*MUSIC & LETTERS*, XXVI, 1, 1945) nachweist, sind diese drei Werke Beethoven mit Unrecht zugeschrieben; sie stammen von Leopold Kozeluch.\*

"Confusion worse confounded!" (Milton). "Truth is stranger than fiction!" (Byron). "Truth! though the Heavens crush me for following her" (Carlyle). It would indeed be fascinating to discover how Dr. Einstein arrived at his conclusion.

To return to the piano duets. Mr. Deutsch stated (*MUSIC & LETTERS*, January, 1945) that Kozeluch's ballet was first produced at Vienna in 1794, and that his piano score was published there some time later, and reprinted in London about 1798, a further edition appearing after 1805. It was easy to build a case on the evidence he provided in favour of the duets having been arranged from the ballet score after publication. But is there not another equally if not more plausible line of reasoning—that, namely, suggested by Saint-Foix's estimate of the date of the duet MSS.? As I stated in my own article in *MUSIC & LETTERS* of January, 1941, Saint-Foix fixed the date of the duet MSS. as "between 1785 and 1790", that is to say, before 1794. Does not the mystery of the authorship of the duets thus boil down to the simple question of which came first, the duets or the Kozeluch ballet? Since the music of the ballet was not publicly heard—let alone seen—until 1794, is it too much to suggest that Kozeluch had seen and copied the duet MSS, or else had heard them played and happened to be blessed with a photographic memory? In short, it looks as though, far from Beethoven (or anybody else) arranging them from the ballet, Kozeluch appropriated them, lock, stock and barrel, and incorporated them in his work! Lest it may be wondered how Kozeluch could have obtained access, whether visually or aurally, to these duet

\* I should explain that Dr. Einstein classifies the four works as three: I, the three duets; II, the Rondo; III, the Trio.—J. W.

MSS., remembering Beethoven's rooted aversion to him, it may be recalled that Beethoven was only fifteen years of age in 1785, and more or less innocent of the ways of men, and that he did not dismiss Kozeluch for ever as "miserabilis" until 1812 (in a letter to Thomson, the Edinburgh publisher, famous for his collection of Scottish, Irish and Welsh folk-songs, arranged by Beethoven and others—including Kozeluch). Moreover, Mr. Deutsch, in his January, 1945, article, pours gentle scorn on the officially established history of these MSS., refusing to believe that they could possibly have begun their travels British Museum-wards in a gift from the Emperor Franz Josef of Austria *via* the Sultan of Turkey. Very well, then. I offer a perfectly feasible alternative itinerary: the duet MSS., at any rate, started out on their journey from Vienna *via* Kozeluch!

Saint-Foix, in his article of January, 1946, declares that, failing incontrovertible evidence to the contrary—which Mr. Deutsch failed then as he has failed since to provide—he could not alter his conviction that the MSS were in Beethoven's hand. At the same time, however, he appears, surprisingly enough, to have submitted to Mr. Deutsch's evidence that the duets were arrangements from Kozeluch's ballet, thus overlooking the vital time-factor in the case, which would have suggested to him that it was Kozeluch (who proved himself abundantly capable at any time of passing off borrowed goods as his own) who stole from Beethoven, and not the latter who arranged from Kozeluch. Can Mr. Deutsch provide evidence to show that the duets were *not* written before the ballet was first produced in 1794?

Since I am taken to task for having "persevered" in describing my edition of the Rondo as "hitherto unpublished", as I did in the case of the two duets, I would mention that I consider I was justified in doing so in view of the fact that Saint-Foix's edition of all four works (printed in Paris in 1920, it was limited to 500 copies and obtainable direct from the publisher before the war at £1) is in no sense a practical edition, quite apart from the inaccuracies with which it abounds, due to his having seen only poor facsimiles of the MSS.—as I explained in my article in *MUSIC & LETTERS* of January, 1941. I feel bound to confess my inability to alter my conviction—nor do I believe any reasonable person can, on the evidence, deny—that, not only are all four MSS. (piano duets, piano Trio, and Rondo in B $\flat$  for piano solo) in Beethoven's hand, but also that they are original works by him: that is to say, until evidence to the contrary is forthcoming.

By way of a postscript: your reviewer (Professor Keys) of the Ascherberg edition of the Rondo remarks (October, 1951) that, while I claim to have "incorporated the few phrasing and dynamic indications given by Beethoven", I do not indicate where they occur. First, may I direct his attention to my footnote on page 9? The original MS. is virtually unedited; so much so, in fact, that a number of essential notes are carelessly omitted here and there, as well as various other slips of the pen left uncorrected. Beethoven's sparse editorial directions do, however, roughly indicate his general ideas regarding legato and staccato, piano and forte. His phrasing of the passage on page 9, though, departs so unexpectedly from his previous orthodox markings, that I decided it was necessary, in the interests of discretion, to disclaim responsibility.

Hence the specific reference. Secondly, my decision not to indicate his other few markings was dictated by the simple fact that, had I followed the customary procedure of differentiating between Beethoven's and my own numerous editorial additions, by placing the latter within brackets, the effect would, I suggest, have been rather overwhelming. I therefore contented myself with the general statement that I had incorporated Beethoven's few editorial indications among my own.

JACK WERNER.

Oxford.

#### FRANCIS TREGIAN

Sir,

We are much indebted to Miss Cole for her energy in going to Truro to look up signatures of Francis Tregian, junior [see 'In Search of Francis Tregian', *MUSIC & LETTERS*, January 1952]; and no one will be more delighted than I if we could take it as proved that the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book is in Tregian's hand. I should like to lend my support to the suggestion that we now call it "Tregian's Virginal Book".

Unfortunately Miss Cole does not have much sense of either the historical or the Cornish background; and it has been suggested to me that I record two or three corrections in her article for the benefit of future works of reference.

"Sir" Francis Tregian is a mistake. The elder Tregian was never a knight. "Talent" rather than "genius" is the word for the younger Tregian, the copyist. One does not have to go to Penzance to reach Golden: it is in the parish of Truro, three or four miles out from Truro.

Tregian's ancestors "had made their wealth in the tin mines and stripped every tree from the countryside in the process. Hence its gaunt appearance". Nonsense. The landscape of West Cornwall is naturally treeless; actually the country east of Truro, where Golden lies, is well wooded. The Tregians did not make their wealth in the tin mines: the whole suggestion is anachronistic by a century or so. They made it originally in trade and then, like everybody else, invested in land.

A. L. ROWSE.

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